

The
American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSO-
CIATION AT CHARLESTON AND COLUMBIA

OF sixteen cities in which the American Historical Association has met since its earliest days in Saratoga, only one was as small as Charleston; but, as the President of the South Carolina Historical Society rightly said in his interesting address of welcome, it may easily be maintained that no American city of the size has been the scene of so many historical events of such importance. The remembrance of these events combined with the historical buildings and the picturesque domestic architecture of Charleston to make it an exceedingly interesting place in which to hold the annual meeting of an historical society; and the interest was heightened by the pains which the local committee of arrangements took, with most intelligent hospitality, to ensure that members should see the sites and buildings that would chiefly appeal to them, and should know their history. Similar pains were taken by the Association's hosts at Columbia, which also has its historic memories; and the automobile ride around the capital of South Carolina will take rank beside the steamboat excursion to Fort Sumter, in the remembrance of those who attended. Among other hospitable attentions, the reception offered by the South Carolina Historical Society at Charleston and the sumptuous luncheon of the Columbia Chamber of Commerce are especially to be recorded, and the kindness with which the authorities of the Citadel, of the Confederate Home and College, and of the Charleston clubs, threw open their doors to members, or, in the case of the first-named, provided abundant rooms for sessions. Two days, Monday December 29 and Tuesday December 30, were spent in sessions at Charleston, the last day of the year in sessions at Columbia. That between the two came a night train leaving Charleston at 3:20 a. m. was a painful incident of the occasion, and, though few who attended would willingly have missed seeing either city, it

must in general be hoped that meetings divided between two places will seldom occur hereafter.

Though Charleston and Columbia are farther from the geographical centre of the Association's membership than any city in which meetings have previously been held, save New Orleans, the attendance was greater than might have been expected. There was a registration of 208 at Charleston, and a few more appeared at Columbia. Nearly a third of the attendance was of Southern members. To the remainder a large element was contributed by the special train which came down from New York, bringing a party of seventy-six. As in the similar case of the special train to New Orleans ten years before, these had, besides the pleasure of seeing each other at greater leisure than is possible during the meetings, the opportunity for visits to interesting cities on the way—a forenoon at Richmond, an afternoon at Petersburg and its battlefield, and on the return a day in Washington.

In any summing-up of the pleasures of the meeting, members would certainly wish that the most especial thanks should be expressed to the two committees of local arrangements—that at Charleston, headed by Hon. Joseph W. Barnwell, and that at Columbia, of which Mr. B. F. Taylor was chairman—and to the committee on programme, under the chairmanship of Professor St. George L. Sioussat, of Vanderbilt University.

In quality the programme was excellent, in quantity, as is usually the case, excessive. No doubt committees on programme start out each year with excellent views respecting the merits of simplicity, but it is difficult to maintain them against the pressure of specialists, prone to think more of their own specialties than of the benefits of listening to thoughts lying outside their customary spheres. Eleven "conferences", in eleven different fields, were laid down upon the programme, besides the usual joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and two other general sessions. Such an arrangement, not uncommon of late, means three "conferences" carried on simultaneously each morning, and three each afternoon, bringing often to irreverent lips an unseemly comparison to the educational institutions of Messrs. Forepaugh and Ringling, whose methods prove distracting to even the hardest minds. Of the eleven conferences, five were simple readings of papers, without time or without plan for discussion. The most lively discussions occurred in those conferences which were pedagogical in intention. Those which took place in the somewhat jejune conference of historical societies and in that of archivists suffered from the usual defect, that most participants rather described their own practices than entered on a

broader consideration of the general themes; but this is because of that isolation of such workers which it is the very purpose of these conferences to correct.

Of these conferences, three took place on the first morning of the session, that on historical materials, that on the social and industrial aspects of modern history, and that on American religious history. In the first of these, presided over by Hon. Joseph W. Barnwell, president of the South Carolina Historical Society, the opening paper was by Mr. Worthington C. Ford of the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose theme was Manuscripts and Historical Archives. The purport of his paper was to call attention to the increasing accumulation of records of an administrative character, the tendency to save what is of only secondary value as historical material, and the evil effects of not having these records utilized at once by competent officials, especially fitted to digest and interpret them. The circumstances of administration have altered. The telegraph and newspaper have changed the character of general correspondence, so that the letter of to-day will be less interesting historically than the letter of a century ago. Much of state activity can be recorded in compressed form provided our civil service is of adequate quality, and the duplication and unnecessary accumulation which constitute our present embarrassment and danger can thus be avoided.

Mr. Charles Henry Hart of Philadelphia followed with a most interesting paper, illustrated with lantern slides, on Frauds in Historical Portraiture, or Spurious Portraits of Historical Personages. Mr. Hart claimed for his subject an importance and an expanse of field far beyond what is commonly supposed. Emphasizing the value of portraiture as a guide to the understanding of historical personalities, he showed however how frequently portraitures had been misnamed by "fraud, accident, and mistake", from the spurious portrait of Christ, of the fifth century, down. He stated that the earliest authentic portrait, from life, of a known person was the fresco of Dante by Giotto, in the Bargello at Florence, but dwelt chiefly upon portraits relating to America. Referring to the spurious portraits of Columbus, William Penn, Roger Williams, signers of the Declaration of Independence by wholesale, the Sully portrait of Patrick Henry, the hundred spurious portraits of Washington, and many others down to a Columbus in Chicago altered to President McKinley, he made a strong plea for thorough investigation and verification before acceptance of a counterfeit presentment as a true representation of the subject claimed for it.

Still another variety of historical material was discussed by Dr. Charles O. Paullin of the Department of Historical Research in the

Carnegie Institution of Washington, in a paper¹ on Materials for an Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, which, as is known, that department is producing under his supervision. After speaking of the work already accomplished in this undertaking, Dr. Paullin gave the general headings of a proposed table of contents, and then described the maps and materials, classified under each head. The general headings are, physical geography, aborigines, early maps of America, routes of explorers and colonizers, boundaries and divisions, industrial and social maps, political maps, maps of cities, and military maps. The importance and labor of determining county boundary lines, for the purposes of several of these varieties, were dwelt upon, the preliminary steps involving compilation from the statutes of each state relative to county boundaries and the procuring of all available maps showing the lines, physical features, and local monuments to which the statutes refer. The insufficiency of the material relating to social and industrial history for the colonial period, and the lack of uniformity in that presented for the period since censuses began, were pointed out. Professor Frederic L. Paxson of Wisconsin, in discussion of Dr. Paullin's paper, spoke of the need for a complete series of outline county maps of the United States, since the constant classification of census and election statistics is by counties. Decennial county maps appeared to him insufficient. He thought there ought to be a map for each year of congressional elections; and hoped that the editors would find it possible to present a compilation of geographic statistics and conditions rather than a series of historical essays in the form of maps. Mr. Barnwell, commenting on the several papers, called attention to the untrustworthiness of the census of 1870 in the southern states.

The conference on the social and industrial aspects of modern history, presided over by Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, which met on the same morning, proved of interest to a very considerable number. The opening paper of the conference, by Dr. Walter P. Hall of Princeton, Social Forces in English Politics in the Early Nineteenth Century, discussed the social philosophy which dominated England at the beginning of the century, and showed how the complete failure of this *laissez-faire* philosophy to ameliorate the evils incident upon the use of the factory system had evoked three new schools of thought, the Tory socialists, the trade unionists, and the Owenites. The first of these succeeded in passing the Factory Acts, but was defeated in the new Poor Law; the trade unionists did much to change the prevailing attitude toward the *laissez-faire* doctrine, but they soon narrowed their influence; while

¹ Printed in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for March.

the followers of Robert Owen attempted to establish co-operative communities, a union of all the workers, and labor exchanges, and failed in all three respects. The study of this early reaction against the *laissez-faire* philosophy not only helps us to understand the conditions of the nineteenth century but makes clear the source of many present-day social theories.

Dr. James Sullivan of the Boys' High School, Brooklyn, followed with a paper on Social and Industrial History in Colleges and Schools, in which he dwelt on the lack of text-books which adequately discuss this aspect of history. He emphasized the dryness of history to a student who finds his text but a collection of political or military facts which cannot be correlated with his every-day life.

The discussion which ensued was opened by Professor Herbert D. Foster of Dartmouth, who agreed that social and industrial history must be taught, but argued that as yet there was no consensus of opinion as to what should be included in their domain. The answer to the question, "What are they?" would clear away much of the difficulty. Professor Arthur I. Andrews of Tufts College cited various points in the usual course of teaching political history, such as the Crusades, the commercial endeavors of explorers and discoverers from the time of the Portuguese voyages, the French Revolution, and the revolt of the Dutch against Spain, as offering ample opportunity for somewhat extended work along social and industrial lines. Miss Helen L. Young of the New York Normal College spoke of the necessity of building a framework of political history about which to group social factors. She also cited the lack of material in English for social studies of any country other than England as the greatest difficulty in such teaching. Mr. J. Lynn Barnard of the School of Pedagogy reached the conclusion that the text-books must be rewritten to answer social and economic questions rather than political ones, since our life to-day is chiefly concerned with the social and economic and therefore our interest is in those aspects of life in the past. Miss Mildred Thompson of Vassar also held that the emphasis in the writing and teaching of history must be shifted from the political to the social and industrial point of view. She stated her belief that the students' dislike of history was the result of mistaken emphasis and could be speedily overcome if the vital economic facts were but made more prominent. Dr. Frederick Duncalf, of the University of Illinois, agreed in the main with this but believed that already history was meeting the demands made on it for social and economic training. Professor Marshall S. Brown, of the University of New York, dwelt on the danger of allowing the pendulum to swing too far, and of overestimating the importance of economic history

as much as it has been previously underestimated. The same view was maintained by Dr. Albert T. Olmstead of the University of Missouri, whose belief was that historical thinking was best secured by training in political history. Miss Katherine Wickers, of the Maury High School, Norfolk, Virginia, added a word on the necessity for the teaching of social and industrial history to the child in the grammar grades, to whom political history was of little value. The consensus of opinion of the conference seemed to be that moderation of zeal for social and industrial studies would result in a wise balance between social, industrial, and political history.

In a conference on American religious history, held the same morning, Dr. J. F. Jameson, who presided, read the first paper, entitled *Reasons for Studying American Religious History*. The reasons dwelt upon were more especially those which might appeal to laymen, partly because the conference consisted of lay teachers of history (the professional students of church history attending rather the sessions of the American Society of Church History at New York), and partly because of the exceptional extent to which the development of religious organizations in America has been in the hands of laymen. Reasons for the study of American religious history in elementary and high schools were considered as well as those applicable to instruction in colleges and universities. Among the reasons cited, aside from those related to the importance of the subject, was its value as a means toward teaching fairness of mind.

Professor Christopher B. Coleman of Butler College, Indianapolis, followed with a suggestive paper on *Some Salient Features of American Christianity*, a title justified by the development in the United States of a distinctive phase of Christianity marked by certain American characteristics. Among the influences which have produced these distinctive features of our religious life four were particularly noted: religious liberty, resulting in the voluntary system and in spontaneous development, the frontier, with its natural emphasis upon a partizan God and upon democracy, immigration in so far as it has involved the transplanting of religious ideas and institutions from Europe, and climatic and geographic forces, which perhaps have given us a more variable, a less imaginative, and a less aesthetic type of Christianity than that of Europe. Among the more salient features of American Christianity, attention was called to the conservatism of its theology, to its engrossment in practical problems and in organization, to the relative intensity of its religious interests, and to the evolution of new and even revolutionary interpretations of Christianity. Thus, Mormonism, with its literalism, materialistic monism, polygamy, and political activity is largely the product of

frontier conditions, while on the other hand Christian Science with its denial of matter, its spiritualistic monism, its effort to eliminate pain and sickness, its emphasis upon the feminine element, is largely the product of an old, well-to-do community, with few external dangers and hardships, and with a numerical predominance of women over men.

In a paper on Christianity and Slavery in the American Colonies, Professor Marcus W. Jernegan of the University of Chicago traced the development of the notion that the enslaving of infidels by Christians was justified on the ground that the former might be brought under the influence of Christianity. He showed that certain decisions of English courts, based on the principle that infidel negroes could be held as slaves in England, but when baptized and domiciled as inhabitants became free, led to the notion that in the American colonies also, a baptized slave could claim freedom; and that therefore, in order to encourage the Christianization of the negro, acts were passed denying that baptism of a slave conferred freedom. It was shown that masters generally, before 1730, opposed religious instruction of their slaves. Various causes, economic, political, and social, were mentioned. It was believed that such instruction would bring an increase in the cost of keeping slaves, that increased knowledge would make them less governable, and that more social privileges would be demanded. Other hindrances to Christianization of slaves were pointed out, such as lack of clergymen, ignorance on the part of the slaves, and acts passed to prevent them from assembling. The attitude of various religious denominations was discussed, respecting the holding of slaves by members, their conversion, baptism, and right to participate in church affairs. At the time of the Revolution perhaps less than ten per cent. had been even nominally Christianized.

Professor Evarts B. Greene of the University of Illinois, in a paper on the Anglican Outlook on the American Colonies in the Early Eighteenth Century, said in substance: The first decade of the eighteenth century was marked by the effort of the Anglican churchmen to strengthen the church in the colonies. For this work the active agent was the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which turned its energies both to the colonists and to the Indians. The missionaries were, however, prone to neglect the Indians for the more attractive work among the colonists. In their work the agents of the society often came into contact, sometimes into conflict, with the Puritans and the Quakers, both of whom they regarded as in need of religious teaching because of their neglect of the sacraments of the church. But the work of the church in the

colonies was greatly hampered by the lack of a bishop in America and the failure of the movement to establish an American episcopate was of vital political importance as depriving the colonies of a powerful conservative force.

The paper by Professor John S. Bassett of Smith College, on the Popular Churches after the Revolution, related to the whole period from 1783 to 1811, and chiefly to the South. The Protestant Episcopal Church, though prosperous in the North, was at the end of the Revolution in a state of suspended animation in the South. This was due not so much to disestablishment or the departure of Tory clergymen as to the character of the colonial clergy, and their cold and lifeless preaching. While the Episcopal Church was in this moribund state in the South the popular churches gained a strong footing with the middle-class farmers. Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists were the leaders in the movement. The minor churches played the same rôle, yet acted locally. The Scotch-Irish and the Highlanders who settled in the South were stanch Presbyterians, and the Presbyterians of New Jersey and Philadelphia also sent missionaries to many Southern communities. A few congregations of Baptists appeared on the coast very early. Somewhat later the Philadelphia Baptist Association sent missionaries to Virginia and in 1756 a third Baptist movement appeared, inspired by leaders from New England. The Methodists had been growing rapidly throughout the South since 1764, their advance guided by leaders sent over by Wesley. The fact that this was a new organization, having as yet no factions to harmonize, that its doctrines were easily understood, that its methods were revivalistic, and its organization flexible, all aided its growth. The fervent character of the popular preaching in the South probably made an enduring impression on the thinking of the Southern middle class.

Taken all together, the efforts made to interest a lay audience in American religious history, even though many things necessarily dwelt upon in such a presence are things already familiar to specialists, seems to have been distinctly successful.

The afternoon of the first day at Charleston was, like the morning, marked by three conferences, one on the relations of the United States and Mexico, the conference of those interested in the work of historical societies, and a third devoted to modern English history.

The conference upon the relations of the United States and Mexico was presided over by Dr. Justin H. Smith, who read a paper upon Mexican Feeling toward the United States at the Beginning of 1846. To understand the matter, Mr. Smith said, it is essential, first

of all, to realize the characteristics of the Mexicans. Temperamentally the Mexicans were sentimental, sociable, and under excitement reckless. Lax regarding the substance of things, but devoted to forms, they were disposed to regard Americans as boorish, calculating, aggressive. It was practically impossible for them to gauge aright the directness of the Anglo-Saxon mind, and they could not fail to impute to us designs we did not entertain. We must understand also the effect of experience, education, environment, and habits—for instance, of Spain's isolating policy. Our diplomatic intercourse with Mexico, which seemed likely for a number of reasons to be cordial, began disastrously, and a series of diplomatic difficulties followed. We were believed to covet her territory, and the secession of Texas was attributed to atrocious greed on our part. Our claims, growing out of outrages against American citizens, increased the tension. For personal reasons Mexican politicians added to it. We were despised as dull-witted, spiritless, and in a military sense impotent; and it was believed that European interests would be a protection to Mexico. Almost all influences, therefore, at the beginning of 1846, tended toward hostility against the United States.

Professor Eugene C. Barker read next a paper upon the relations between the United States and Mexico in the period from 1835 to 1837. Anglo-Americans, he said, who emigrated to Texas between 1821 and 1835 broke no real ties with the United States and formed none with Mexico; accordingly they turned naturally to the United States for aid. The relations between those two countries centred around four considerations: the non-enforcement by the United States of its neutrality law, the claim of the United States to the Neches instead of the Sabine boundary, the occupation of Nacogdoches (Texas) by United States troops commanded by General E. P. Gaines in the summer and fall of 1836, and the recognition of Texan independence. Mr. Barker pointed out that there were palpable violations of neutrality on the part of the United States and that the administration manifested only a lukewarm desire to enforce it and the local officials none at all; that the claim to the Neches boundary was absolutely groundless; that Gaines's occupation was not necessary on any account, although he was apparently honest in thinking so, and the administration seems to have wished him to go no further than the maintenance of absolute neutrality and the fulfillment of treaty obligations to Mexico. In recognizing Texan independence, however, the United States was reasonably deliberate, and acted in conformity with established precedent, although in all its correspondence with Mexico the State Department was unnecessarily curt and unsympathetic, which tended further to convince that government of the insincerity of the United States.

The third paper in this conference was presented by Professor R. M. McElroy of Princeton University and dealt with the relations of Jackson, Houston, and Tyler to the Annexation of Texas. The central idea of the paper was that Andrew Jackson was the dominant force in the movement to "regain Texas". His motive was described, not as a desire to serve the interests of the slave-holding states, but as a determination to regain a territory which he believed to have been "wantonly and corruptly ceded from us". He firmly believed that George W. Erving, our minister to Spain, had, just before Jackson became president, negotiated with Spain a treaty recognizing the Rio Grande as the ancient limit of Louisiana, and that President Adams had interfered, closed the negotiations, and set our western boundary at the Sabine. So believing, Jackson held that the secret rejection of Erving's supposed treaty nullified the treaty which took its place. The latter half of the paper traced the history of Jackson's efforts to bring Texas back to the American Union. His view clearly was that Mexico never had any real claim to Texas, but that Texas was merely a bit of stolen property which the United States was at liberty to regain in any manner she might choose, a view which makes it easy to conceive of his sending Houston thither to create revolution, and doing so without conscious sacrifice of honesty. The paper also touched upon Jackson's influence with President Tyler. It was followed by a paper by Mr. Edward H. Thompson of Mérida, Yucatan, dealing with the present relations between the United States and Mexico.

The tenth annual conference of historical societies and organizations of similar purpose was presided over by Dr. Thomas M. Owen, director of the Department of Archives and History in Alabama. The secretary of the conference, Dr. Solon J. Buck, made the usual report upon the progress of the historical societies of the country, as evidenced by the data which he had received in response to the annual circulars. The large increase in the provision of buildings for historical agencies in the United States, the organization of the Michigan Historical Commission, and of state historical surveys in connection with the states of Illinois and Indiana were commented upon. Dr. Dunbar Rowland of Mississippi read the report of the Committee of Seven on Co-operation of Historical Societies and Departments in the Mississippi Valley, conveying the report of Mr. W. G. Leland upon the catalogue of documents in the archives of Paris relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley, a compilation which is approaching completion, and may be expected to reach its conclusion in a few months. The history of organized historical work in the Lower South was made the first theme of the conference.

Professor Yates Snowden of the University of South Carolina gave a general survey of the history of the historical societies of that region, and Dr. Dunbar Rowland an account of the organization and work of the historical commissions and departments supported by the states. These papers were supplemented by remarks on the part of Mr. R. D. W. Connor of Raleigh on the work, acquisitions, and new installation of the North Carolina Historical Commission; by Professor M. L. Bonham, jr., of Baton Rouge, on the history of the Louisiana Historical Society, of the Louisiana Historical Association, and of the archives and historical commissions of that state; by Dr. Owen on the need of better supervision in the South of county and other local archives, to secure better making and keeping and installation of records, with further remarks on the historical museum and the collecting of portraits; by Mr. George S. Godard, state librarian of Connecticut, and others.

Finally, a paper on Planning the Publication Work of Historical Agencies was read by Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois. He urged that the published work of historical societies and institutions should be so organized that successive volumes of documentary material edited in a scholarly manner should be brought forth for a number of years on a plan carefully matured and covering all the discoverable sources. He discussed the various categories embraced in such a comprehensive plan, disapproved strongly of all fortuitous volumes and miscellaneous collections, and indeed of all forms of partial publication. Mr. Alvord's doctrine, applicable to Illinois and other states which stand at the beginning of documentary publication, was criticized by Mr. Worthington C. Ford as one that would not work well in the older states where much has already been published, much comes to light from time to time, much can never be completed, so that publications cannot always be made systematic and there is a distinct field for miscellaneous volumes, and those of fortuitous construction. Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, while commending the high standards advocated by Dr. Alvord, pointed out that good work depended on ideals, money, and the man, and not all three can always be commanded. He adverted to the inconveniences produced to librarians, readers, and students by miscellaneous collections which defy treatment in accordance with subject-matter, and advocated a certain measure of courage in breaking away from the stereotyped traditions of "Collections".

The sixth of this busy day's conferences, devoted to modern English history, had as its *pièce de résistance* a single paper, by Professor A. L. Cross of Michigan, on Legal Materials as Sources for the Study of Modern English History. His general thesis was

that while some good work has been done on certain phases of English legal history, the materials on the subject offer much opportunity for the study of the development of political thinking, and of social and industrial conditions, furnishing sources of information which have been only inadequately exploited. These materials fall into three general groups. The first includes the reports of the common-law courts and of chancery, which incidentally throw much light on contemporary life and, particularly in the case of the charges and opinions of the judges, reflect current political views and enable the student to trace the evolution of judge-made law. Secondly, since the activities of the justices of the peace touch on almost every conceivable subject of local administration, an investigation of the records of quarter sessions promises a rich harvest which thus far has been only incompletely gathered. Although a few of these records have been printed, the bulk of them still remain in manuscript. Finally, the manorial rolls and other kindred documents admirably supplement the records of the public local courts. Furthermore, they show that the judicial and administrative business of the private jurisdictions was more extensive and survived longer than was commonly supposed before Sidney and Beatrice Webb published their *English Local Government*, a work which not only is a vast store-house of information, but suggests many fertile fields for further enquiry.

In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper Professor Carlton H. Hayes of Columbia University dwelt upon the fact that the great bulk of such material as this made a sense of relativity one of the most necessary qualifications for the student, who must also exercise care in dealing with these sources because of the class prejudices by which they are affected. Professor Charles H. McIlwain of Harvard was not disposed to think that the judges always favored the gentry, pointing out the fact that in the Tudor period they frequently supported the lower classes. He too commented on the vast amount of material both printed and unprinted, and spoke of the necessity of studying it as a whole, not for detached illustrations. Professor James T. Baldwin of Vassar drew upon his experiences to point out the difficulties in using legal material—its discouraging volume, and the archaic form and technical character of the documents. While a collaboration in the work of publication was greatly to be desired, there was still, he believed, an opportunity for individual students dealing with subjects of limited scope to achieve excellent results. Professor Cross closed the discussion with a few remarks in which he agreed with Professor McIlwain that the judges were frequently in sympathy with the lower classes.

At the general public session of the whole society, held in the evening in Hibernian Hall, a felicitous address of welcome was made by Hon. Joseph W. Barnwell, as president of the South Carolina Historical Society. He touched upon the leading points in the history of Charleston, with an eloquence which made all who heard him sensible of the dramatic quality of the events, and of the economic and social meaning of the conditions, which he described. The presidential address of Professor Dunning, which then followed, was heard with manifest appreciation and delight by a large audience of the Charleston public and of the members of the Association. In accordance with the custom of this journal, it has already been printed in our January number.

On the second morning, the vigorous sons and daughters of history, unwearied by six conferences and an evening session, proceeded bravely to a fresh day's programme embracing three morning conferences, a trip to Fort Sumter, the annual business meeting, and an evening session. The three conferences displayed upon the morning's *menu* related respectively to the teaching of history, colonial commerce, and military history.

In the conference on the teaching of history Professor J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton presided. Professor Nathaniel W. Stephenson of the College of Charleston read the first paper of the conference, on the Place of History in the Curriculum. He set for himself two questions, Why is history in the curriculum? and, What work is it to do there? In answering the first question Professor Stephenson discarded many tests—history is not primarily for the purpose of inculcating principles of conduct, it is not to laud the deeds of our ancestors, it is not, in the secondary schools, to be treated as a descriptive science. We find that our own historical interests fall into three classes: a vivid interest in the story of history, in the triumphs of man over circumstances; an interest in tracing and analyzing those events of the past that shall explain the present; and lastly the pleasure of research. The first of these we possess in early childhood, and it should form the touchstone of the history teaching of the grammar grades; with care the analytic faculty should be brought into play in the high school; research should be left for later years. And in the teaching of history, from the kindergarten to the university, the one thing needful is imagination.

Professor Henry Johnson of Teacher's College followed with a paper on Making the Past Real, in which he dwelt upon the use of pictures and illustrative material, and urged the use of museums and of existing buildings which would actually connect the past and the present. He also advised intensive work on the locality in which

the child lives, as an aid in vitalizing his history. Professor Beverley W. Bond, jr., of Purdue University, discussed the work in history of the Summer School of the South at Knoxville, as showing the possibilities of summer school work. In former years the work has consisted of lectures and conferences; this year there was added a history exhibit, which included pictures, maps, note-books, and atlases, as well as text-books, source-books, and reference books. It is intended in future years to add practical work with the reflectoscope, the stereoscope, and the stereopticon.

In the discussion which followed Professor Frederic L. Paxson, without commenting on the papers which had been read, set forth the view that the work of the high schools must be limited and standardized. Miss Mary S. Smith contrasted Southern problems resulting from the rural population, the small numbers of the foreign-born, the necessity of a double school system, with the conditions in such a state as Massachusetts. The great need of the Southern schools is good teachers. This Professor Milledge L. Bonham also emphasized, urging that the university must develop the thinking teacher. Universities must put great emphasis on subject-matter, before students are ready to consider method. Professor St. George L. Sioussat placed much of the responsibility for poor teaching in the high schools at the door of the colleges, since their requirements varied widely. The first step in standardizing teaching must be to standardize college entrance requirements. Professor Herbert D. Foster thought that agitation toward these ends might be taken up by the various teachers' associations. Mr. Edward C. Page of the State Normal School of DeKalb, Illinois, cited as a successful practical experiment a museum conducted in that normal school. Professor Arthur I. Andrews cited the collections of the New England History Teachers' Association now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and invited members of the Association to visit it.

The conference on colonial commerce was marked by but one main paper, that of Professor Charles M. Andrews on that general theme. The paper, to be published at a later time in this journal, opened with remarks upon the necessity of maintaining in colonial history a point of view not derived from subsequent events. A proper treatment of the fundamental and normal characteristics of our first period would bring into the foreground the total history of colonial commerce, as a theme of equal importance with the political and constitutional aspects of our early history. The starting-point should be a proper presentation of the colonial policy of Great Britain, of which a thorough comprehension should be obtained, as well as of the ideas underlying this policy, of the institutions and

systems to which it gave rise, and of its relations to the legal and financial history of the colonies. As a second part of his general subject, Professor Andrews discussed commerce as a dominant interest of the colonists themselves, apart from its connection with the British policy, but without limitation to the thirteen colonies, examining at length four subjects: staple products, shipping, trade-routes, and markets, regarding which as yet but little had been written by historical scholars, though ample material existed for their examination.

Professor O. M. Dickerson, of the State Normal School, Winona, Minnesota, discussed Professor Andrews's paper at some length. While the programme of investigation proposed by Professor Andrews might, he thought, change the whole organization of colonial history, he could not admit that commercialism dominated our colonial middle ages any more completely than it does to-day. For instance, seventy-five per cent. of the vetoes of colonial laws must be explained on other grounds. In addition to the organizing principles suggested by Professor Andrews, namely, the royal prerogative and commerce, he thought that at least three others should be recognized, the growth of local self-government, the westward movement, and the development of imperial interests. Mr. Frank W. Pitman of Yale University adverted to the importance of the history of a developing demand in Europe for sugar, tobacco, and other colonial products, pointing out that foreign markets were of vital importance to the colonies. Dr. Clarence P. Gould of Wooster University discussed the economic grouping of colonial lands as manifested in the contraction or expansion of the tobacco belt, concurrent with the variations in the price of food-stuffs and tobacco.

In the conference on military history, Mr. Theodore D. Jervey of Charleston read a paper on Charleston during the Civil War, concerning himself principally with an account of blockade-running and its practical results. Not only was blockade-running conducted on an extensive scale through the port of Charleston in the earlier years of the war, but, contrary to commonly accepted opinion, even to the closing of the war the business carried on through Charleston was greater, it appears, than through any other Confederate port. The evidence also indicates that the capital engaged in the business was largely Carolinian and not English, as has been supposed. Mr. Jervey presented many facts of interest concerning individual firms and vessels engaged in the traffic.

The second paper in this conference was a careful and interesting account by Captain Oliver Spaulding, U. S. A., of the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The situation in Charleston harbor in

1860, the condition of Fort Moultrie and the federal garrison there, the transfer to Sumter and the reasons for it, the relief expeditions and their failure, the preparations for the siege, and finally the bombardment and the surrender, were all set forth with admirable clearness. The Confederate preparations for the siege were also described, though less minutely. Naturally Captain Spaulding treated the subject largely from a technically military point of view.

In a paper on the teaching of Military History in the Army, by Captain Arthur L. Conger, U. S. A., the place of military history in general history, and the importance of critical historical study to professional military men, especially in developing capacity for leadership, were briefly discussed. The elementary courses in history at West Point, the graduate work at the Army Service Schools at Fort Leavenworth, and such historical study as is conducted at the Army War College at Washington, were described in considerable detail, particularly the seminary research work conducted at Fort Leavenworth. The paper concluded with a statement of the unsatisfactory nature of the editing of the *Official Records* of the Union and Confederate Armies in the Civil War.

At the close of this paper the Committee on Military History presented a report commending the Fort Leavenworth methods and recommending the adoption of similar work at the Army War College, the encouragement of seminary work in military history at the universities, and, in case of the establishment of an historical section of the General Staff, the co-operation of military and civilian historians.

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, assistant secretary of the Navy, addressed the conference on the unsatisfactory provision now existing for the naval archives of the United States, and on the desire of the two military departments of the government, in the editing of the military records of the Revolution, to produce a publication marked by all possible excellences of preparation and editing.

Reserving to a later point in this article an account of the business meeting, to which the latter part of Tuesday afternoon was devoted, we may pass to the second of the general or public evening sessions. Illness prevented Hon. H. A. M. Smith, judge of the United States district court, from reading his promised paper on the Psychology of Historical Research, and the first paper of the evening was one in which Dr. Edmund C. Burnett, of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, gave a history of the Committee of the States, appointed by the Continental Congress to oversee the Continental business during the summer of 1784. Though provided for by the Articles of Confedera-

tion, the Committee of the States had not hitherto been called into being, and as the experiment proved to be a failure, partly because of jealousies and partly because of indifference, it was never tried again. Its appointment was desired by Jefferson and others for the purpose of preserving a visible federal head during the adjournment. While it largely failed to accomplish its immediate purpose or anything else of importance and soon disintegrated, nevertheless its very failure was of value because it emphasized the need of a better constitution. The history of the committee given by Dr. Burnett was mainly drawn from the letters of the delegates to Congress which the Carnegie Institution is assembling and will ultimately publish with a view to supplementing the insufficient knowledge of the proceedings of Congress which may be obtained from the journals.

Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, of the Ohio State University, followed with a paper entitled, *What became of the Loyalists at the Close of the Revolution?* He told from original investigations the story of the organized Loyalist bands, of the border rescuing expeditions and the migrations which by 1791 had increased the English population of Lower Canada to 20,000 and that of Upper Canada to 25,000, of the refugees in London and Halifax, of the short-lived Loyalist colony on the Penobscot, and of the foundation of New Brunswick. From the Southern cities, Charleston and Savannah, the Loyalists found asylum in the West Indies, Bermuda, and the Floridas. Many of those who had taken refuge in the Floridas poured into the Bahamas when the Floridas passed to Spain, increasing the population of those islands by several thousand. From both Northern and Southern ports about 2000 refugees probably were received in England.

In a paper of distinctively Carolinian subject, the *Return of John C. Calhoun to the Senate in 1845*, Professor James E. Walmsley, of Winthrop College, after sketching briefly the state of politics in the period immediately preceding, presented a letter written by Calhoun to Major Burt on September 17, 1845. Calhoun had retired from the Senate in 1842. In 1844 he had been defeated in respect to the presidential nomination, largely through the influence of Thomas Ritchie and Robert J. Walker. In the spring of 1844 he entered Tyler's Cabinet, but was not retained by Polk, and seems at that time to have desired to retire from politics. But the pressure of his friends and his own alarm at the possible dissolution of the Union induced him to consider re-entering the Senate. This is the point of view that is made prominent in the letter mentioned above. Calhoun felt that no matter what his personal preferences might be, his state at this time had vital need of his services. With a few exceptions

the newspapers of South Carolina voiced this opinion and commended Judge Huger's conduct in resigning in order to make a place for Calhoun.

The last of the papers read at Charleston was that of Professor Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina, entitled, somewhat broadly, the Creative Forces in Westward Expansion. The westward movement, he said, resulted from two forces, one acquisitive the other inquisitive. The former found expression in organizations of men of wealth designed to explore, colonize, and develop the western wilderness; the latter arose from the instinct of the hunter and explorer and found incarnation in the frontier backwoodsman. He then proceeded to show, from a research into the careers of Daniel Boone and Richard Henderson, the co-ordination of these two elements in the westward expansion. From the records of Rowan County, North Carolina, was shown the relationship between these two: Boone, impoverished by many lawsuits, turning for assistance to Henderson, an attorney of that county, Henderson organizing for purposes of exploration the company first called "Richard Henderson and Company", later the Louisa, and then the Transylvania Company. In 1764 Boone made his first exploration in Kentucky, hunting and trapping on his own account, and prospecting and exploring on behalf of Henderson's land company. In 1769, after a conference at Salisbury of Boone, Henderson, and other Kentucky explorers, Boone entered on his explorations of 1769-1771, the main object of which was really to recruit his shattered fortunes by acting as scout and confidential agent of Henderson and his company in the examination of lands in Tennessee and Kentucky.

In Columbia, the next morning, occurred the usual joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, presided over by Professor James A. James as president of the latter body, and opened with an address of welcome by the mayor of Columbia, Hon. Wade Hampton Gibbes. Three papers were read. The first, by Professor Isaac J. Cox of Cincinnati, dealt with the relation between General Wilkinson and Governor Folch. The paper, which later we shall have the opportunity of printing at length, is based on material recently discovered in the Spanish and Mexican archives. Beginning with a secret interview between Wilkinson and Folch in 1804, the writer showed how Wilkinson secured the renewal of his pension from Spain by promising to assist the Spanish authorities to make the transfer of Louisiana useless, by informing them of the future plans of the American government. It traced the processes by which during the next three years Wilkinson plotted alternately for and against the interests of both nations, with self-seeking so treach-

erous that finally no one but Jefferson seemed to trust him, the climax being reached by Jefferson's commissioning him in 1809 as his envoy to the Captain General in Cuba and to Governor Folch to propose an alliance to which Spanish America, Brazil, and the United States, and even Great Britain should be parties.

The second paper was by Professor Clarence E. Carter of Miami University, on *Some Aspects of British Policy in West Florida*, mainly relating to the attempts to establish settlements in the region added to that province by the change of boundary, from 31° N. lat. to the Yazoo, effected in 1764. The narrative tended to exhibit the government's management of this province as marked by the same indecision and the same lack of insight and vision which so vitiated its efforts at a solution of the general problem of imperial organization.

Dr. Arthur C. Cole's paper on the South and the Right of Secession in the Early Fifties was occupied chiefly with the alignment of parties on the question of the right of secession, as that question was raised in the local contests in the Southern states just before and just after the Compromise of 1850. The Whigs and Democrats reversed the ground occupied in 1832. The Whigs were fairly well united in the denial of any right of secession, but asserted the inalienable right of revolution as an ultimate remedy. The victory of the Union Party in the Lower South in the elections of 1851 did not mean the defeat of the doctrine of secession but was due to divisions among the Democrats.

The two conferences which marked the afternoon, and with which the sessions of the Association were concluded, had each to be crowded into a single hour on account of two non-scientific reasons—the elaborateness of the luncheon given by the Columbia Chamber of Commerce, and the necessity of beginning the automobile ride at four o'clock. The conference of archivists, presided over by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, chairman of the Public Archives Commission, was almost fatally compressed, so far as discussion was concerned. The chairman stated that the commission expected to append to its annual report for 1913 reports on the archives of California and Wyoming, and a list of Reports and Representations of the Board of Trade to the King in Council, Parliament, Secretary of State, etc., and that preliminary arrangements had been made for reports on the archives of South Carolina and Vermont. Specimens of the commission's proposed "Primer of Archival Economy for the Use of American Archivists" were presented in the form of two tentative chapters, the first, on Archives, by Professor Charles M. Andrews, and the fifth, on Fixtures, Fittings, and Furniture, by

Mr. Paltsits; but there was no time for discussing them. Some remarks were made on the present status of the movement for a National Archive Building in Washington. Dr. Solon J. Buck presented a paper on the Advantages and Disadvantages of Centralizing Local Archives at the State Capital. His belief was that, with regard to many large classes of local material not much needed for immediate purposes of local business, the interests of history were best served by their removal to a central depository, where trained archivists and systematic arrangements were more likely to be provided. The paper was discussed by Mr. Connor, Mr. Salley, Dr. Owen, and Dr. Rowland, custodians of archives in North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi, respectively, and by others.

The conference by formal resolution gave expression to its hope that the state of South Carolina would go forward rapidly in the work of publishing the archival materials for the earlier history of the state.

The conference on ancient history, presided over by Professor Lewis P. Chamberlayne of the University of South Carolina, had papers by Dr. Ralph V. D. Magoffin of Johns Hopkins University, on the Modern Making of Ancient History, by Dr. Frank B. Marsh of the University of Texas, on the Problem of Provincial Administration under the Roman Republic, and by Dr. Richard F. Scholz of the University of California, on the Antecedents of the Holy Roman Empire. Mr. Magoffin's paper passed in rapid review a number of the newer sciences, auxiliary to the researches of the student of ancient history, and then gave more in detail, from both published and unpublished material, a variety of instances illustrating the value which numismatics, epigraphy, and archaeology have for that student.

The problem of provincial administration under the Roman Republic, as stated by Dr. Marsh, lay in the difficulty of reconciling a foreign policy resulting in annexations with the strong reluctance of the Senate to enlarge its own numbers or the general machinery of government. He showed how this reluctance checked Roman expansion in the period before the conquest of 146 B. C., and again how at a later period, the half century preceding 63 B. C., when new annexations had exhausted the new governors at the Senate's disposal even under the system of pro-magistrates, that body again became opposed to a policy of imperial expansion.

The effort of Dr. Scholz's paper was to trace the antecedents of the medieval universal state from the monarchy of the first world-king and god-king, Alexander, with its alliance of altar and throne, through the development of cults of Hellenistic god-kings, organized

deification at Rome, the Messianic ideal, and the political-religious empire of Augustus. Professor Olmstead of Missouri remarked on the need of paying due regard to the history of the subject peoples, not as local history, but in its setting and as a contribution to imperial history.

It remains to describe the annual business meeting of the Association, held on the afternoon of the second day at Charleston, with President Dunning in the chair. The report of the secretary showed a total membership of 2843. The treasurer reported net disbursements of \$9893, with net receipts of \$10,261. The total assets of the Association were \$27,283, a slight gain over the preceding year. The report of the Executive Council described steps taken toward additional promotion of historical research, the prospective establishment of a headquarters for members of the Association engaged in work in the archives and libraries in London, the establishment of a standing committee upon the study of the military history of the United States, and the offer of \$200 as a prize, to be awarded in December 1915, for the best essay in military history submitted in that year. The Association accepted the offer and appointed a committee of award. Upon recommendation by the Council it was voted that the meeting of December 1915 be held in Washington; that of December 1914, it will be remembered, is to be held in Chicago. Some preparations were announced for the additional meeting which is to be held in California in the summer of 1915, Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig being made chairman of the committee on local arrangements and Professor Ephraim D. Adams of the committee on programme. The budget for 1914 was also presented. The Council announced the re-election of J. F. Jameson as a member of the Board of Editors of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, he being the member whose six-year term expired at the end of the year 1913.

The report of the Pacific Coast Branch was offered by Professor Edmond S. Meany, who gave a brief account of the recent meetings of that branch at Los Angeles and Seattle. Brief reports were presented on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commission by its chairman, Mr. Worthington C. Ford, and on behalf of the Public Archives Commission by its chairman Mr. Victor H. Paltsits; the substance of the latter report has been mentioned above. The committee on publications reported especially as to the series of prize essays, which is in a fair way to sustain itself. The report of the Board of Editors of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, presented by its chairman Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, related chiefly to its new circular to reviewers. Professor Henry Johnson, for the advisory board of the *History Teacher's Magazine*, reported grati-

lying progress of that journal in public favor. The committee on bibliography announced that the execution of the proposed bibliography of American travels is now assured, Dr. Bernard C. Steiner having undertaken to be its editor. Reports were also made on behalf of the committee on a bibliography of modern history by Professor A. L. Cross, a member of that committee; by Dr. J. F. Jameson, as editor of the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History*; and on behalf of the general committee by Professor Frederic L. Paxson, chairman. The chairman of the Herbert Baxter Adams prize committee, Professor Burr, announced that the committee had awarded the prize to Miss Violet Barbour for an essay entitled "Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington".

The report of the committee on nominations appointed at the last annual meeting was read, in the absence of its chairman, Professor William MacDonald, by Professor C. W. Alvord, a member of the committee. The committee presented the following nominations for officers and members of the Council for the year 1914, and all were unanimously elected by the Association: President, Andrew C. McLaughlin; first vice-president, H. Morse Stephens; second vice-president, George L. Burr; secretary, Waldo G. Leland; treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen; secretary of the Council, Evarts B. Greene; curator, A. Howard Clark; elective members of the Executive Council, Herman V. Ames, Dana C. Munro, Archibald C. Coolidge, John M. Vincent, Frederic Bancroft, and Charles H. Haskins. A vote expressing appreciation of the disinterested and efficient manner in which Professor Haskins had for a long period of years, 1900 to 1914, conducted the difficult and laborious office of secretary of the Council was passed by the Association in view of his retirement from that position.

Over this matter of the nominations there arose an unexpected discussion which, whether the criticisms out of which it sprang were or were not warranted, was salutary in its effects, as must usually be the case in discussions within such a society, whose business meetings are apt to be marked by excess of preparedness, smoothness of action, and harmonious acquiescence. Dr. Rowland of Mississippi, declaring his entire contentment with the nominations actually made, criticized as insufficient the methods taken by the nominating committee for eliciting the opinions of the membership, painted with some warmth of rhetoric the dangers of oligarchy, and advocated the timely sending out to the members of blank forms of ballot, preparatory to the next meeting. In reality the danger of oligarchical control over the particular matter commented on seemed slight, for the Council had made no communication to the committee and no

member of the Council had received from the latter any statement as to what nominations were about to be made. It will be remembered that, by what was certainly an improvement over former practice, the committee on nominations had been appointed a year in advance, with the request that members of the Association should write to it during the year as to their opinions or desires respecting nominations. Professor Alvord described the efforts, not inconsiderable in sum, which those of his committee had made to inform themselves as to the views of members. In the discussion which followed, it was pointed out that the general issue of blank ballots had three times been tried in former years, but had produced no other result than thirty or forty or fifty responses, casual, nowise representative, and, if taken seriously, open to the danger of suffering elections to be dictated by a clique acting by surprise. It was declared by various speakers that, in this age of waste-baskets, it was vain to expect useful results from any ballot by mail in a society so large. Universal appreciation of the ends desired by Dr. Rowland was expressed throughout the debate, which was entirely amicable, and at the end the new committee on nominations, about to be appointed for 1914, was charged to consider and report upon means for better eliciting the general opinion. The list of appointments by standing committees, made by the Council, was then read. It is printed at the end of this article. It is not too much to say, that the announcement of a nominating committee headed by the name of Professor Hull gave universal confidence that whatever could be done to allay any existing dissatisfaction with respect to nominations would be done, with all possible fairness, thoughtfulness, and ingenuity.

Thus the incident ended well.² But the general question as to oligarchical control deserves a little consideration. In making such an accusation, it is evidently not the composition of the committees which is in mind. Leaving out of account the Board of Editors of this REVIEW, which under the agreement the Council cannot alter save at the expiration of six-year terms, the number of members on the present committee list is 92, and of these only 36 appear on the list of two years ago. Dr. Rowland's charge is, virtually, that the Council controls the affairs of the Association and is not changed rapidly enough. But in large societies the conduct of business almost always rests in the hands of a small group, composed of those most

² Ended, so far as discussion before the Association was concerned. But, deeming the episode not to have been sufficiently laid before the public in Professor Fay's excellent article on the meeting, in the *Nation* of January 8, 1914, Dr. Rowland set forth his views in a letter to that journal, in whose issues of January 22, 29, February 5 and 26, the matter was therefore further, and to all appearance quite sufficiently, discussed by various members.

interested and most willing to spend the time needful to do the work. Each of us belongs to several societies the management of which he leaves to others, content if they seem not to mismanage and if they have no power to perpetuate themselves in office. In the American Historical Association, according to the experience of the writer of these pages (who has watched its proceedings throughout its thirty years, eighteen years from outside the Council, twelve years from within), it has never happened that any considerable number of members has been dissatisfied with any specific thing the Council has done; while as to perpetuating themselves in office or controlling the elections, it is significant that in thirty years no member has cared to make any other nomination than those propounded by the nominating committee, though any member could at any time do this. Clearly there has been no great degree of dissatisfaction.

A good degree of permanence in the Council there certainly has been, partly due to the presence of a group of ex-presidents, hardy perennials, placed there by the constitution, partly due to a policy of the Association which has its reasons. If those most earnest to have the society do its best work have believed in a relatively permanent board of management, it is for no other reason than those which have led nearly all other learned societies administering funds for scientific work to follow the same course. When the Association was founded, some desired that we should have a small learned academy of history, some that we should have a large popular society. Prosperous financially, at the end of thirty years, we are able to do, and are trying to do, the work of both. Those whose minds are most intent on the fifteen or twenty interesting and important tasks which the Association is trying to perform in a scholarly manner will place a high value on experience, and will think the great democratic principle of rotation in office as little applicable to the Executive Council as to the National Academy of Sciences. But others may choose to regard the offices as sources of honor rather than sources of labor, and certainly they have also that aspect, and certainly the Association belongs to its members, and the money is theirs, and if they wish more rapid changes in the Council they have only to make them. But the belief of the present writer is, that if the business meetings can be so conducted as to allow ample time for explaining what the Council has done and the reasons, contentment will prevail, and a system not widely divergent from the present will continue to be maintained, for he has never known a person to attend for the first time a meeting of the Council and emerge from it with any other feeling than that its members had been acting thoughtfully and in the interest of the whole Association.

J. F. J.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
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<i>President,</i>	Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, Chicago.
<i>First Vice-President,</i>	Professor H. Morse Stephens, Berkeley.
<i>Second Vice-President,</i>	Professor George L. Burr, Ithaca.
<i>Secretary,</i>	Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.
<i>Treasurer,</i>	Clarence W. Bowen of New York (ad- dress, 1140 Woodward Building, Wash- ington).
<i>Secretary to the Council,</i>	Professor Evarts B. Greene, Urbana, Ill.
<i>Curator,</i>	A. Howard Clark, Smithsonian Institution.

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Committee on Programme for the Thirtieth Annual Meeting:
Professor James W. Thompson, University of Chicago, chair-
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McIlwain, Albert T. Olmstead, Frederic L. Paxson.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Charles L. Hutchinson, chair-
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W. Harris, Edmund J. James, Harry P. Judson, Otto L.
Schmidt.

Committee on Nominations: Professor Charles H. Hull, Cornell
University, chairman; George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan Uni-
versity; John H. T. McPherson, University of Georgia; Mrs.
Lois K. Mathews, University of Wisconsin; Joseph Schafer,
University of Oregon.

¹ Ex-presidents.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Andrew C. McLaughlin, chairman; George L. Burr, Edward P. Cheyney, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Frederick J. Turner.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Herbert E. Bolton, Julian P. Bretz, Archer B. Hulbert, William O. Scroggs.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Professor Claude H. Van Tyne, University of Michigan, chairman; Carl R. Fish, J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, Allen Johnson, William MacDonald.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Professor Charles D. Hazen, Smith College, chairman; Laurence M. Larson, William R. Shepherd, Paul van Dyke, Albert B. White.

Public Archives Commission: Victor H. Paltsits, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Eugene C. Barker, Gaillard Hunt, Alexander S. Salley, jr., Jonas Viles, Henry E. Woods.

Committee on Bibliography: Professor Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; Clarence S. Brigham, W. Dawson Johnston, Walter Lichtenstein, Bernard C. Steiner, Frederick J. Teggart.

Committee on Publications: Professor Max Farrand, Yale University, chairman; and (*ex officio*) Worthington C. Ford, Evarts B. Greene, Charles D. Hazen, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Ernest C. Richardson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

General Committee: Professor Frederic L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Arthur I. Andrews, Solon J. Buck, Isaac J. Cox, George N. Fuller, Samuel B. Harding, Marcus W. Jernegan, Orin G. Libby, Harlow Lindley, Wallace Notestein, Clarence S. Paine, Louis Pelzer, Morgan P. Robinson, Otto L. Schmidt, Eugene M. Violette, George M. Wrong, and Waldo G. Leland and William A. Morris, *ex officio*.

Committee on a Bibliography of Modern English History: Professor Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Ernest C. Richardson, Williston Walker.

Committee on the Preparation of Teachers of History in Schools: Kendrick C. Babcock, University of Illinois, chairman; Charles E. Chadsey, Edgar Dawson, Robert A. Maurer, Dana C. Munro.

Conference of Historical Societies: Clarence Burley, chairman; Solon J. Buck, secretary.

Advisory Board of the History Teacher's Magazine: Professor Henry Johnson, Columbia University, chairman; Fred M. Fling, James Sullivan (re-elected to serve three years); Miss Blanche Hazard, George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat.

Committee on Military and Naval History: Professor Robert M. Johnston, Harvard University, chairman; Assistant Secretary Henry Breckinridge, Fred M. Fling, Rear-Admiral Austin M. Knight, Brigadier-General Hunter Liggett, Major James W. McAndrew, Charles O. Paullin, Assistant Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Committee on the Military History Prize: Captain Arthur L. Conger, Army Service Schools, Fort Leavenworth, chairman; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, Fred M. Fling, Albert Bushnell Hart.

THE STAGES IN THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF CAPITALISM¹

IN the pages that follow I wish only to develop a hypothesis. Perhaps after having read them, the reader will find the evidence insufficient. I do not hesitate to recognize that the scarcity of special studies bearing upon my subject, at least for the period since the end of the Middle Ages, is of a nature to discourage more than one cautious spirit. But, on the one hand, I am convinced that every effort at synthesis, however premature it may seem, cannot fail to react usefully on investigations, provided one offers it in all frankness for what it is. And, on the other hand, the kind reception which the ideas here presented received at the International Congress of Historical Studies held at London last April, and the desire which has been expressed to me by scholars of widely differing tendencies to see them in print, have induced me to publish them. Various objections which have been expressed to me, as well as my own subsequent reflections, have caused me to revise and complete on certain points my London address. In the essential features, however, nothing has been changed.

A word first of all to indicate clearly the point of view which characterizes the study. I shall not enter into the question of the formation of capital itself, that is, of the sum total of the goods employed by their possessor to produce more goods at a profit. It is the capitalist alone, the holder of capital, who will hold our attention. My purpose is simply to characterize, for the various epochs of economic history, the nature of this capitalist and to search for his origin. I have observed, in surveying this history from the beginning of the Middle Ages to our own times, a very interesting phenomenon to which, so it seems to me, attention has not yet been sufficiently called. I believe that, for each period into which our economic history may be divided, there is a distinct and separate class of capitalists. In other words, the group of capitalists of a given epoch does not spring from the capitalist group of the preceding epoch. At every change in economic organization we find a breach of continuity. It is as if the capitalists who have up to that time been active, recognize that they are incapable of adapting themselves to conditions which are evoked by needs hitherto unknown

¹ This article represents the substance of an address delivered at the International Congress of Historical Studies held in London, April, 1913.

and which call for methods hitherto unemployed. They withdraw from the struggle and become an aristocracy, which if it again plays a part in the course of affairs, does so in a passive manner only, assuming the rôle of silent partners. In their place arise new men, courageous and enterprising, who boldly permit themselves to be driven by the wind actually blowing and who know how to trim their sails to take advantage of it, until the day comes when, its direction changing and disconcerting their manoeuvres, they in their turn pause and are distanced by new craft having fresh forces and new directions. In short, the permanence throughout the centuries of a capitalist class, the result of a continuous development and changing itself to suit changing circumstances, is not to be affirmed. On the contrary, there are as many classes of capitalists as there are epochs in economic history. That history does not present itself to the eye of the observer under the guise of an inclined plane; it resembles rather a staircase, every step of which rises abruptly above that which precedes it. We do not find ourselves in the presence of a gentle and regular ascent, but of a series of lifts.

In order to establish the validity of these generalizations it is of course needful to control them by the observation of facts, and the longer the period of time covered the more convincing will the observations be. The economic history of antiquity is still too little known, and its relations to the ages which follow have escaped us too completely, for us to take our point of departure there; but the beginning of the Middle Ages gives us access to a body of material sufficient for our purpose.

But first of all, it is needful to meet a serious objection. If it is in fact true, as seems to be usually conceded since the appearance of Bücher's brilliant *Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*²—to say nothing here of the thesis since formulated with such extreme radicalism by W. Sombart³—that the economic organization of the Middle Ages has no aspect to which one can rightly apply the term capitalistic, then our thesis is limited wholly to modern times and there can be no thought of introducing into the discussion the centuries preceding the Renaissance. But whatever may be the favor which it still enjoys, the theory which refuses to perceive in the medieval urban economy the least trace of capitalism has found in recent times ever increasing opposition. I will not even enumerate here the studies which seem to me to have in an incontrovertible manner established the fact that all the essential features of capitalism—individual enterprise, advances on credit, commercial profits, specu-

² First edition in 1893.

³ *Der Moderne Capitalismus* (1902).

lation, etc.—are to be found from the twelfth century on, in the city republics of Italy—Venice,⁴ Genoa,⁵ or Florence.⁶ I shall not ask what one can call such a navigator as Romano Mairano (1152–1201), if, in spite of the hundreds of thousands of francs he employed in business, the fifty per cent. profits he realized on his operations in coasting trade, and his final failure, one persists in refusing to him the name of capitalist. I shall pass over the disproof of the alleged ignorance of the medieval merchants. I shall say nothing of the astonishing errors committed in the calculations, so confidently offered to us as furnishing mathematical proof of the naïveté of historians who can believe the commerce of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to have been anything more than that of simple peddlers, a sort of artisans incapable of rising even to the idea of profit, and having no views beyond the day's livelihood.⁷ Important as all this may be, the weak point in the theory which I am here opposing seems to me to lie especially in a question of method. Bücher and his partizans, in my opinion, have, without sufficient care, used for their picture of the city economy of the Middle Ages the characteristics of the German towns and more particularly the German towns of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Now the great majority of the German towns of that period were far from having attained the degree of development which had been reached by the great communes of northern Italy, of Tuscany, or of the Low Countries. Instead of presenting the classical type of urban economy, they are merely examples of it incompletely developed; they present only certain manifestations; they lack others, and particularly those which belong to the domain of capitalism. Therefore in presenting as true of all the cities of the Middle Ages a theory which rests only on the observation of certain of them, and those the least advanced, one is necessarily doing violence to reality. Bücher's description of *Stadtwirtschaft* remains a masterpiece of penetration and economic understanding. But it is too restricted. It does not take account of certain elements of the problem, because these elements were not encountered in the narrow circle which the research covered. One may be confident that if, instead of proceeding from the analysis of such towns as Frankfort, this study had

⁴ R. Heynen, *Zur Entstehung des Capitalismus in Venedig* (1905).

⁵ H. Sieveking, "Die Capitalistische Entwicklung in den Italienischen Städten des Mittelalters", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1909).

⁶ Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, III. 36; A. Doren, *Die Florentiner Wollentuchindustrie*, p. 481.

⁷ A. Schaub, "Die Wollausfuhr Englands von 1272", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1908), pp. 39 ff. Cf. F. Keutgen, "Hansische Handelsgesellschaften", *ibid.* (1906), pp. 288 ff.

considered Florence, Genoa, and Venice, or even Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Douai, or Tournai, the picture which it furnished us would have been very different. Instead of refusing to see capitalism of any kind in the economic life of the bourgeoisie, the author would have recognized, on the contrary, unmistakable evidences of capitalism. I shall later have occasion to return to this very essential question. But it was indispensable to indicate here the position which I shall take in regard to it.

Of course I do not at all intend to reject *en bloc* the ideas generally agreed upon concerning the urban economy of the Middle Ages. On the contrary, I believe them to be entirely accurate in their essential elements, and I am persuaded that, in a very large number of cases, I will even say, if you like, in the majority of cases, they provide us with a theory which is completely satisfactory. I am very far from maintaining that capitalism exercised a preponderant influence on the character of economic organization from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. I believe that, though it is not right to call this organization "acapitalistic", it is on the other hand correct to consider it "anticapitalistic". But to affirm this is to affirm the existence of capital. That organization recognized the existence of capital since it tried to defend itself against it, since, from the end of the thirteenth century onward, it took more and more measures to escape from its abuses. It is incontestable that, from this period on, it succeeded by legal force in diminishing the rôle which capitalism had played up to that time. In fact it is certain, and we shall have occasion to observe it, that the power of capital was much greater during the first part of the urban period of the Middle Ages than during the second. But even in the course of the latter period, if municipal legislation seems more or less completely to have shut it out from local markets, capital succeeded in preserving and in dominating a very considerable portion of economic activity. It is capital which rules in inter-local commerce, which determines the forms of credit, and which, fastening itself on all the industries which produce not for the city market but for exportation, hinders them from being controlled, as the others are, by the minute regulations which in innumerable ways cramp the activity of the craftsmen.⁸

Let us recognize, then, that capitalism is much older than we have ordinarily thought it. No doubt its operation in modern times has been much more engrossing than in the Middle Ages. But that is only a difference of quantity, not a difference of quality, a simple difference of intensity not a difference of nature. Therefore, we

⁸ Cf. H. Pirenne, *Les Anciennes Démocraties des Pays-Bas*, pp. 11 ff.

are justified in setting the question we set at the beginning. We can, without fear of pursuing a vain shadow, endeavor to discern what throughout history have been the successive stages in the social evolution of capitalism.

Of the period which preceded the formation of towns, that is, of the period preceding the middle of the eleventh century, we know too little to permit ourselves to tarry there. What may still have survived in Italy and in Gaul of the economic system of the Romans has disappeared before the beginning of the eighth century. Civilization has become strictly agricultural and the domain system has impressed its form upon it. The land, concentrated in large holdings in the hands of a powerful landed aristocracy, barely produces what is necessary for the proprietor and his *familia*. Its harvests do not form material for commerce. If during years of exceptional abundance the surplus is transported to districts where scarcity prevails, that is all. In addition certain commodities of ordinary quick consumption, and which nature has distributed unequally over the soil, such as wine or salt, sustain a sort of traffic. Finally, but more rarely, products manufactured by the rural industry of countries abounding in raw materials, such as, to cite only one, the friezes woven by the peasants of Flanders, maintain a feeble exportation. Of the condition of the *negociatores* who served as the instruments of these exchanges, we know almost nothing. Many of them were unquestionably merchants of occasion, men without a country, ready to seize on any means of existence that came their way. Pursuers of adventure were frequent among these roving creatures, half traders, half pirates, not unlike the Arab merchants who even to our day have searched for and frequently have found fortunes amid the negro populations of Africa. At least, to read the history of that Samo who at the beginning of the eighth century, arriving at the head of a band of adventuring merchants among the Wends of the Elbe, ended by becoming their king, makes one think involuntarily of certain of those beys or sheiks encountered by voyagers to the Congo or the Katanga.⁹ Clearly no one will try to find in this strong and fortunate bandit an ancestor of the capitalists of the future. Commerce, as he understood and practised it, blended with plunder, and if he loved gain it was not in the manner of a man of affairs but rather in that of a primitive conqueror with whom violence of appetite took the place of calculation. Samo was evidently an exception. But the spirit which inspired him may have inspired a goodly number of *negociatores* who

⁹ I. Goll, "Samo und die Karantinischen Slaven", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, vol. XI.

launched their barks on the streams of the ninth century. In the society of this period only the possession of land or attachment to the following of a great man could give one a normal position. Men not so provided were outside the regular classification, forming a confused mass, in which were promiscuously mingled professional beggars, mercenaries in search of employment, masters of barges or drivers of wagons, peddlers, traders, all jostling in the same sort of hazardous and precarious life, and all no doubt passing easily from one employment to another. This is not to say, however, that among the *negociatores* of the Frankish epoch there were not also individuals whose situation was more stable and whose means of existence were less open to suspicion. Indeed, we know that the great proprietors, lay or ecclesiastical, employed certain of their serfs or of their *ministeriumales* in a sporadic commerce of which we have already mentioned above the principal features. They commissioned them to buy at neighboring markets the necessary commodities or to transport to places of sale the occasional surplus of their grain or their wine. Here too we discover no trace of capitalism. We merely find ourselves in the presence of hereditary servants performing a gratuitous service, entirely analogous to military service.

Nevertheless commercial intercourse produced even then, in certain places particularly favored by their geographical situation, groups of some importance. We find them along the sea-coast—Marseilles, Rouen, Quentovic—or on the banks of the rivers, especially in those places where a Roman road crosses the stream, as at Maastricht on the Meuse or at Valenciennes on the Scheldt. We are to think of these *portus* as wharves for merchandise and as winter quarters for boats and boatmen. They differ very distinctly from the towns of the following period. No walls surround them; the buildings which are springing up seem to be scarcely more than wooden sheds, and the population which is found there is a floating population, destitute of all privileges and forming a striking contrast to the bourgeoisie of the future. No organization seems to have bound together the adventurers and the voyagers of these *portus*. Doubtless it is possible, it is even probable, that a certain number of individuals, profiting by circumstances, may have little by little devoted themselves to trade in a regular fashion and have begun by the ninth century to form the nucleus of a group of professional traders. But we have too little information to enable us to speak with any precision.

The operations of credit follow much the same course. We cannot doubt that loans had been employed in the Carolingian period, and the Church as well as the State had occupied itself in combating

their abuses.¹⁰ But it would be a manifest exaggeration to deduce from this the existence of even a rudimentary capitalistic economy. Everything indicates that the loans which we are considering here were only occasional loans, of usurious nature, to which people who had met with some catastrophe, such as war, a fire, or a poor harvest, were forced to have recourse temporarily.

Thus, the early centuries of the Middle Ages seem to have been completely ignorant of the power of capital. They abound in wealthy landed proprietors, in rich monasteries, and we come upon hundreds of sanctuaries the treasure of which, supplied by the generosity of the nobles or the offerings of the faithful, crowds the altar with ornaments of gold or of solid silver. A considerable fortune is accumulated in the Church, but it is an idle fortune. The revenues which the landowners collect from their serfs or from their tenants are directed toward no economic purpose. They are scattered in alms, in the building of monuments, in the purchase of works of art, or of precious objects which should serve to increase the splendor of religious ceremonies. Wealth, capital, if one may so term it, is fixed motionless in the hands of an aristocracy, priestly or military. This is the essential condition of the patronage that this aristocracy (*maiores et divites*) exercises over the people (*pauperes*). Its action is as important from the social point of view as it is unimportant from that of economics. No part of it is directed toward the *negociatores*, who, left to themselves, live, so to speak, on the fringe of society. And so it will continue to be, for long centuries.

Landed property, indeed, did not contribute at all to that awakening of commercial activity which, after the disasters of the Norman invasion in the North and the Saracen raids on the shores of the Mediterranean, began to manifest itself toward the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh. Its preliminary manifestations are found at the two extremities of the Continent, Italy and the Low Countries. The interior seas, between which Europe was restricted in her advance toward the Atlantic, were its first centres of activity. Venice, then Genoa and Pisa, venture on the coasting trade along their shores, and then maintain, with their rich neighbors of Byzantium or of the Mohammedan countries, a traffic which henceforward constantly increases. Meanwhile Bruges at the head of the estuary of the Zwyn, becomes the centre of a navigation

¹⁰ A. Dopsch, *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit*, II. 274. I cannot, however, accept the thesis of Mr. Dopsch on the importance of commerce in the Carolingian period. The extremely interesting texts which he has assembled seem to me to establish the existence of a sporadic commerce only.

radiating toward England, the shores of North Germany, and the Scandinavian regions. Thus, economic life, as in the beginning of Hellenic times, first becomes active along the coasts. But soon it penetrates into the interior of the country. Step by step it wins its way along the rivers and the natural routes. On this side and on that, it arouses the hinterland into which the harbors cut their indentations. In this process of growth the two movements finally meet, and bring into communication the people of the North and the people of the South. By the beginning of the twelfth century it is an accomplished fact. In 1127 Lombard merchants, journeying by the long route which descends from the passes of the Alps toward Champagne and the Low Countries, reach the fairs of Flanders.

If the feeble and precarious commercial activity of the Carolingian period was sufficient to create gathering-places of merchants at the points most frequented in travel, it is not difficult to understand that the steady progress of economic activity from the end of the tenth century would result in the formation, at the strategic points of regional transit, of aggregations of like character but much more important and more stable. The surface of the land, the direction and the depth of the streams, determining the routes of commerce, also determined the location of the towns. Indeed, European cities are the daughters of commerce and of industry. Unquestionably in the countries of old civilization, in Italy or in Gaul, the Roman cities had not completely disappeared. Within the circle of their walls, which had now become too large and were filled with ruins, there gathered, around the bishop resident in each of them, a whole population of clerics and monks, and beside them a lay population employed in their service or support. In the North, one found the same spectacle at the centres of the new dioceses, at Théroutanne, at Utrecht, at Magdeburg, or at Vienna. But here was no trace, properly speaking, of municipal life. A certain number of artisans, some of them serfs, a little weekly market for the most indispensable commodities, sometimes a fair visited by the merchant-adventurers of whom we have spoken above—this is the sum total of economic life.

But the situation changes from the moment when the increasing intensity of commerce begins to furnish men with new means of existence. Immediately one discovers an uninterrupted movement of migration of peasants from the country towards the places in which the handling of merchandise, the towing of boats, the service of merchants furnish regular occupations and arouse the hope of gain.

If the old cities disadvantageously placed at one side from the highways of travel continue in their torpor, the others see their

population increase continuously. Suburbs join the old enclosure; new markets are established; new churches are built for the new comers; and soon the primitive nucleus of the town, surrounded on all sides by the houses of the immigrants, becomes merely the quarter of the priests, bound to the shadow of the cathedral and submerged on all sides by the expansion of lay life. Much that at the beginning was the essential is now nothing more than the accessory. The episcopal burg disappears amid faubourgs.¹¹ The city has not been formed by growing with its own forces. It has been brought into existence by the attraction which it has exerted upon its surroundings whenever it has been aided by its situation. It is the creation of those who have migrated toward it. It has been made from without and not from within. The bourgeoisie of the oldest towns of Europe is a population of the transplanted. But it is at the same time essentially a trading population, and no other proof of this need be advanced than the fact that, down to the beginning of the twelfth century, *mercator* and *burgensis* were synonymous terms.

Whence came these pioneers of commerce, these immigrants seeking means of subsistence, and what resources did they bring with them into the rising towns? Doubtless only the strength of their arms, the force of their wills, the clearness of their intelligence. Agricultural life continued to be the normal life and none of those who remained upon the soil could entertain the idea of abandoning his holding to go to the town and take his chances in a new existence. As for selling the holding to get ready money, like the men of a modern rural population, no one at that time could have imagined such a transaction. The ancestors of the bourgeoisie must then be sought, specifically, in the mass of those wandering beings who, having no land to cultivate, floated across the surface of society, living from day to day upon the alms of the monasteries, hiring themselves to the cultivators of the soil in harvest time, enlisting in the armies in time of war, and shrinking from neither pillage nor rapine if the occasion presented itself. It may without difficulty be admitted that there may have been among them some rural artisans or some professional peddlers. But it is beyond question that with very few exceptions it was poor men who floated to the towns and there built up the first fortunes in movable property that the Middle Ages knew.

¹¹ Of course all the new towns did not grow up around an episcopal residence. Many of them, especially in the North and particularly in the Low Countries, had as their primitive nucleus a fortress (Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Lille, Douai, etc.). But my purpose here is merely to recall the broad outlines of the subject.

Fortunately we possess certain narratives which enable us to support this thesis with concrete examples. It will suffice to cite here the most characteristic of them, the biography of St. Godric of Finchale.¹²

He was born of poor peasants in Lincolnshire, toward the end of the eleventh century, and from infancy was forced to tax his ingenuity to find the means of livelihood. Like many other unfortunates of all times, he at first walked the beaches on the outlook for wreckage cast up by the sea. Then we see him, perhaps by reason of some fortunate find, setting up as a peddler and travelling through the country with a little pack of goods (*cum mercibus minutis*). At length he gathers together a small sum, and one fine day joins a troop of town merchants whom he has met in the course of his wanderings. Thenceforward he goes with his companions from market to market, from fair to fair, from town to town. Having thus become a professional merchant, he rapidly gains a sufficient sum to enable him to associate himself with other merchants, charter a boat with them, and engage in the coasting trade along the shores of England, Scotland, Denmark, and Flanders. The company is highly successful. Its operations consist in carrying to a foreign country goods which it knows to be uncommon there, in selling them there at a high price, and acquiring in exchange various merchandise which it takes pains to dispose of in the places where the demand for them is greatest and where it can consequently make the greatest gains. At the end of some years this prudent practice of buying cheap and selling dear has made of Godric, and doubtless of his associates, a man of important wealth. Then, touched by divine grace, he suddenly renounces his fortune, gives his goods to the poor, and becomes a monk.

The story of Godric, if one omits its pious conclusion, must have been that of many others. It shows us, with perfect clearness, how a man beginning with nothing might in a relatively short time amass a considerable capital. Our adventurer must have been favored by circumstances and chance. But the secret of his success, and the contemporary biographer to whom we owe the story insists strongly upon it, is intelligence.¹³ Godric in fact shows himself a calculator, I might even say a speculator. He has in a high degree the feeling, and it is much more developed among minds without culture than is usually thought, for what is practicable in commerce. He is on fire

¹² See on this subject the interesting article by W. Vogel, "Ein Seefahrender Kaufmann um 1100", *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* (1912), pp. 239 ff.

¹³ "Unde non agriculturae delegit exercitia colere, sed potius, quae sagacioris animi sunt, rudimenta studuit arripiendo exercere."

with the love of gain. One sees clearly in him that famous *spiritus capitalisticus* of which some would have us believe that it dates only from the time of the Renaissance. Here is an eleventh-century merchant, associated with companions like himself, combining his purchases, reckoning his profits, and, instead of hiding in a chest the money he has gained, using it only to support and extend his business. More than this, he does not hesitate to devote himself to operations which the Church condemns. He is not disquieted by the theory of the just price; the Decretum of Gratian disapproves in express terms of the speculations which he practises: "*Qui comparat rem ut illam ipsam integram et immutatam dando lucretur, ille est mercator qui de templo Dei ejicitur*".

After this, how can we see, in Godric and any of those who led the same sort of life, anything else but capitalists? It is impossible to maintain that these men conducted business only to supply their daily wants, impossible not to see that their purpose is the constant accumulation of goods, impossible to deny that, barbarous as we may suppose them, they none the less possessed the comprehension, or, if one prefers, had the instinct for commerce on the large scale.¹⁴ Of the organization of this commerce the life of Godric shows us already the principal features, and the description which it gives us of them is the more deserving of confidence because it is corroborated in the most convincing fashion by many documents. It shows us, first of all, the merchant coming from the country to establish himself in the town. But the town is to him, so to speak, merely a basis of operations. He lives there but little, save in the winter. As soon as the roads are practicable and the sea open to navigation, he sets out. His commerce is essentially a wandering commerce, and at the same time a collective one, for the insecurity of the roads and the powerlessness of the solitary individual compel him to have recourse to association. Grouped in gilds, in hanses, in *caritates*, the associates take their merchandise in convoy from town to town, presenting a spectacle entirely like that which the caravans of the East still furnish in our day. They buy and sell in common, dividing the profits in the ratio of their respective investments in the expedition, and the trade they carry on in the foreign markets is wholesale trade, and can only be that, for retail trade, as the life of Godric shows us, is left to the rural peddlers. It is in gross that they export and import wine, grain, wool, or cloth. To convince ourselves of this we need only examine the regulations which have been

¹⁴ One finds already in the twelfth century lenders of money undertaking veritable financial operations. See H. Jenkinson and M. T. Stead, "William Cade: a Financier of the Twelfth Century", *English Historical Review* (1913), p. 209 ff.

preserved to us: The statutes of the Flemish hanse of London, for example, formally exclude retail dealers and craftsmen from the company.

Moreover, the merchant associations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries have nothing exclusively local in their character. In them we find bourgeoisie of different towns, side by side. They have rather the appearance of regional than of urban organisms. They are still far from the exclusivism and the protectionism which are to be shown with so much emphasis in the municipal life of the fourteenth century. Commercial freedom is not troubled by any restrictive regulations. Public authority assigns no limits to the activity of the merchants, does not restrict them to this or that kind of business, exercises no supervision over their operations. Provided they pay the fiscal dues (*teloneum, conductus*, etc.) levied by the territorial prince and the seigneurs having jurisdiction at the passage of the bridges, along the roads and rivers, or at the markets, they are entirely free from all legal obstacles. The only restrictions which hinder the full expansion of commerce do not come from the official authority, but result from the practices of commerce itself. To wit, the various merchant associations, guilds, hanses, etc., which encounter each other at the places of buying and selling, oppose each other in brutal competition. Each of them excludes from all participation in its affairs the members of all the others. But this is merely a state of facts, resting on no legal title. Force holds here the place of law, and whatever may be the differences of time and of environment, one cannot do otherwise than to compare the commerce of the eleventh and twelfth centuries to that bloody competition in which, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the sailors of Holland, England, France, and Spain engaged in the markets of the New World. We shall conclude then that medieval commerce, at its origin, is essentially characterized by its regional quality and by its freedom. And it is not difficult to understand that it was so, if one bears in mind two facts to which attention should be drawn.

In the first place, down to the end of the twelfth century, the number of towns properly so-called was relatively small. Only those places that were favored by a privileged geographical situation attracted the merchants in sufficient number to enable them to maintain a commercial movement of real importance. After that, the attraction which these centres of business exerted upon their environs was much greater than is ordinarily imagined. All the secondary localities were subject to their influence. The merchants dwelling in these last, too few to act by themselves, affiliated themselves to the hanse or guild of the principal town. The Flemish

hanse, which we have already instanced, proves this fully, by showing us the merchants of Dixmude, Damme, Oudenbourg, Ardenbourg, etc., seeking admission into the hanse of Bruges.

In the second place, at the period we have now reached the towns devoted themselves far more to commerce than to industry. Few could be cited that appear thus early as manufacturing centres. The concentration of artisans within their walls is still incomplete. If their merchants export, along with the products of the soil, such as wine and grain, a quantity of manufactured products, such, for example, as cloth, it is more than probable that these were for the most part made in the country.

Admit these two statements, and the nature of early commerce is explained without difficulty. They account in fact both for the freedom of the merchants and for that character of wholesale exporters which they exhibit so clearly and which prevents our placing them in the category in which the theory of urban economy claims to confine them. Contrary to the general belief, it appears then that before the thirteenth century we find a period of free capitalistic expansion. No doubt the capitalism of that time is a collective capitalism: groups, not isolated individuals, are its instruments. No doubt too it contents itself with very simple operations. The commercial expeditions upon which its activity especially centres itself demand, for their successful conduct, an endurance, a physical strength, which the more advanced stages of economic evolution will not require. But they demand nothing more. Without the ability to plan and combine they would remain sterile. And so we can see that, from the beginning, what we find at the basis of capitalism is intelligence, that same intelligence which Georg Hansen has so well shown, long ago, to be the efficient cause of the emergence of the bourgeoisie.¹⁵

The fortunes acquired in the wandering commerce by the parvenus of the eleventh and twelfth centuries soon transformed them into landed proprietors. They invest a good part of their gains in lands, and the land they thus acquire is naturally that of the towns in which they reside. From the beginning of the thirteenth century one sees this land held in large parcels by an aristocracy of patri-cians, *viri hereditarii*, *divites*, *majores*, in whom we cannot fail to recognize the descendants of the bold voyagers of the gilds and the hanses. The continuous increase of the burghal population enriches them more and more, for as new inhabitants establish themselves in the towns, and as the number of the houses increases, the rent of the ground increases in proportion. So, from the commencement

¹⁵ *Die drei Bevölkerungstufen.*

of the thirteenth century, the grandsons of the primitive merchants abandon commerce and content themselves with living comfortably upon the revenue of their lands. They bid farewell to the agitations and the chances of the wandering life. They live henceforward in their stone houses, whose battlements and towers rise above the thatched roofs of the wooden houses of their tenants. They assume control of the municipal administration; they and their families monopolize the seats in the *échevinage* or the town council. Some even, by fortunate marriages, ally themselves with the lesser nobility and begin to model their manner of living upon that of the knights.

But while these first generations of capitalists are retiring from commerce and rooting themselves in the soil, important changes are going on in the economic organization. In the first place, in proportion as the wealth of the towns increases, and with it their attractive power, they take on more and more an industrial character, the rural artisans flocking into them *en masse* and deserting the country. At the same time many of them, favored by the abundance of raw material furnished by the surrounding region, begin to devote themselves to certain specialties of manufacture—cloth-making or metallurgy. Finally, around the principal aggregations many secondary localities develop, so that all Western Europe, in the course of the thirteenth century, blossoms forth in an abundance of large and small towns. Some, and much the greater number of them, content themselves perforce with local commerce. Their production is determined by the needs of their population and that of the environs which extend two or three leagues around their walls and, in exchange for the manufactured articles which the city furnishes to them, attend to the food supply of the urban inhabitants. Other towns, on the contrary, less closely set together but also more powerful, develop chiefly by means of an export industry, producing, as did the cloth industry of great Flemish or Italian cities, not for their local market,¹⁸ but for the European market, constantly extensible. Others still, profiting by the advantages of nearness to the sea, give themselves up to navigation and to transportation, as did so many ports of Italy, of France, of England, and especially of North Germany.

Of these two types of towns, the one sufficient to themselves, the other living upon the outside world, it is unquestionably the first to which the theory of the urban economy applies. Direct trade

¹⁸ The *Livre de la Vingtaine d'Arras* (ed. A. Guesnon) says, in speaking of the merchants of that town, in 1222, "Emunt non ad usum civitatis, sed ut exportent et discurrant per nondinas longinquas et per Lombardiam".

between purchaser and consumer, strict protectionism excluding the foreigner from the local market and reserving it to the bourgeoisie alone, minute regulations confining within narrow limits the industry of the merchant and the artisan; in a word, all the traits of an organization evidently designed to preserve and safeguard the various members of the community by assigning to each his place and his rôle, are all found and all explained without difficulty in those towns which are confined to a clientage limited by the extent of their suburban dependencies. In these one can rightly speak of an anti-capitalistic economy. In these we find neither great *entrepreneurs* nor great merchants. It is true that the necessity of stocking the town with commodities which it does not produce or cannot find in its environs—groceries, fine cloths, wines in northern countries—brings into existence a group of exporters whose condition is superior to that of their fellow-citizens. But on inspection they cannot be regarded as a class of great professional merchants. If they buy at wholesale in foreign markets, it is to sell at retail to their fellow-citizens. They dispose of their goods piecemeal, and like the *Gewandschneider* of the German towns, they do not rise above the level of large shopkeepers.¹⁷

In the towns of the second category we find a quite different condition. Here capitalism not only exists but develops toward perfection. Instruments of credit, such as the *lettre de foire*, make their appearance; a traffic in money takes its place alongside the traffic in merchandise and, despite the prohibition of loans at interest, makes constantly more rapid progress. The *coutumes* of the fairs, especially those of the fairs of Champagne, in which the merchants of the regions most advanced in an economic sense, Italy and the Low Countries, meet each other, give rise to a veritable commercial law. The circulation of money expands and becomes regulated; the coinage of gold, abandoned since the Merovingian period, is resumed in the middle of the thirteenth century. The security of travellers increases on the great highways. The old Roman bridges are rebuilt and here and there canals are built and dykes constructed. Finally, in the towns, the commercial buildings of the previous period, outgrown, are replaced by structures more vast and more luxurious, of which the *halles* of Ypres, with their façade one hundred and thirty-three metres long, is doubtless the most imposing specimen.

In the presence of these facts it is impossible to deny the existence of a considerable traffic. Moreover documents abound which

¹⁷ G. von Below, "Grosshändler und Kleinhändler im Deutschen Mittelalter", *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* (1900).

attest the existence in the great cities of men of affairs who hold the most extended relations with the outside world, who export and import sacks of wool, bales of cloth, tuns of wine, by the hundred, who have under their orders a whole corps of factors or "sergents" (*servientes, valets*, etc.), whose letters of credit are negotiated in the fairs of Champagne, and who make loans amounting to several thousands of livres to princes, monasteries, and cities in need of money. To cite here merely a few figures, let us recall that in 1273 the company of the Scotti of Piacenza exports wool from England to the value of 21,400 pounds sterling, or 1,600,000 francs (metallic value);¹⁸ in 1254 certain burgesses of Arras furnish 20,000 livres to the Count of Guines, prisoner of the Count of Flanders, to enable him to pay his ransom.¹⁹ In 1339 three merchants of Mechlin advance 54,000 florins (700,000 francs) to King Edward III.²⁰

Extensive however as capitalistic commerce has been since the first half of the thirteenth century, it no longer enjoys the freedom of development which it had before. As we advance toward the end of the Middle Ages, indeed, we see it subjected to limitations constantly more numerous and more confining. Henceforth, in fact, it has to reckon with municipal legislation. Every town now shelters itself behind the ramparts of protectionism. If the most powerful cities can no longer exclude the stranger, upon whom they live, they impose upon him a minute regulation, the purpose of which is to defend against him the position of their own citizens. They force him to have recourse in his purchases to the mediation of his "hosts" and his "courtiers"; they forbid him to bring in manufactured articles which may compete with those which the city produces; they exploit him by levying taxes of all sorts: duties upon weighing, upon measuring, upon egress, etc.

In those cities especially in which has occurred the popular revolution transferring power from the hands of the patriciate into those of the craft-gilds, distrust of capital is carried as far as it can go without entirely destroying urban industry. The craftsmen who produce for exportation—for example, the weavers and the fullers of the towns of Flanders—try to escape from their subjection to the merchants who employ them. Not only do the municipal statutes fix wages and regulate the conditions of work, but they also limit the independence of the merchant, even in purely commercial matters. It will be sufficient to mention here, as one of their most

¹⁸ A. Schaube, "Die Wollausfuhr Englands vom Jahre 1273", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1908), p. 183.

¹⁹ A. Duchesne, *Histoire des Maisons de Guines, d'Ardres et de Gand*, p. 289.

²⁰ Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. II., part IV., p. 49.

characteristic provisions, the forbidding of the cloth merchant to be at the same time a wool merchant, a prohibition inspired by the desire to prevent operations that will unfavorably affect prices and the workman's wages.²¹

But it is not solely the municipal authority, which attacks the speculations born of the capitalistic spirit. The Church steps forward, and under the name of usury forbids indiscriminately the lending of money at interest, sales on credit, monopolies, and in general all profits exceeding the *justum pretium*. No doubt these prohibitions themselves attest the existence of the abuses which they endeavor to oppose, and their frequency proves that they did not always succeed. It is none the less true that they were very burdensome and that the pursuit of business on a large scale found itself much embarrassed by them.

The increasing specialization of commerce embarrassed it much more. At the beginning the merchants had devoted themselves to the most various operations at once. Wandering from market to market, they bought and sold without feeling in need of centring their activity on this or that kind of products or commodities, but from about 1250 this is no longer the case. The progress of economic evolution has resulted in localizing certain industries and in restraining certain branches of commerce to the groups of merchants best suited to their promotion. Thus, for example, in the course of the thirteenth century the trade in fine cloth became a monopoly of the towns of Flanders, and banking a monopoly of certain merchant companies of Lombardy, Provence, or Tuscany. Thenceforward commercial life ceases to overflow at random, so to speak. It has a less arbitrary, a more deliberate, and consequently a more embarrassed quality.

These limitations resting upon commerce have resulted in turning away from it the patricians, who moreover have become, as has been said above, a class of landed proprietors. The place which they left vacant is filled by new men, among whom, as among their predecessors, intelligence is the essential instrument of fortune. The intellectual faculties which the first developed in wandering commerce are used by these later men to overcome the obstacles raised in their pathway by municipal regulations of commerce and ecclesiastical regulations in respect to money affairs.²² Many of them find a rich source of profit by devoting themselves to brokerage. Others

²¹ For an example, see Espinas and Pirenne, *Recueil de Documents relatifs à l'Histoire de la Draperie Flamande*, II. 391.

²² J. Kulischer, "Warenhändler und Geldausleiher im Mittelalter", *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft*, etc., XVII. (1908).

in the industrial cities exploit shamelessly and in defiance of the statutes the artisans whom they employ. At Douai, for example, Jehan Boinebroke (1280-1310) succeeds in reducing to serfdom a number of workers (and characteristically, they are chiefly women) by advancing wool or money which they are unable to repay, and which therefore place them at his mercy.²³ The richest or the boldest profit by the constantly increasing need of money on the part of territorial princes and kings, to become their bankers. It will be remembered that it was Lombard capitalists who furnished Edward III. with money to prepare his campaigns against France,²⁴ and, quite recently, the history of Guillaume Servat of Cahors (1280-1320) has shown us a man who, setting out with nothing, like Godric in the eleventh century, accumulates in a few years a considerable fortune, supplies the King of England with a dowry for one of his daughters, lends money to the King of Norway, farms the wool duties at London, and, unscrupulous as he is shrewd, does not hesitate to engage in shady speculations upon the coinage.²⁵ And how many other financiers do we not know whose career is wholly similar: Thomas Fin at the court of the counts of Flanders,²⁶ the Berniers at that of the counts of Hainaut, the Tote Guis, the Vane Guis, at that of the kings of France, not to name the numberless Italians entrusted by the popes with the various operations of pontifical finance, those *mercatores Romanam curiam sequentes* among whom are found the ancestors of the great Medici of the fifteenth century.²⁷

In the course of the fifteenth century this second class of capitalists, courtiers, merchants, and financiers, successors to the capitalists of the hanses and the gilds, is in its turn drawn along toward the downward grade. The progress of navigation, the discoveries made by the Portuguese, then by the Spaniards, the formation of great monarchical states struggling for supremacy, begin to destroy the economic situation in the midst of which that class had grown to

²³ G. Espinas, "Jehan Boine-Broke, Bourgeois et Drapier Douaisien", *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1904), pp. 34 ff.

²⁴ For the relations of the capitalists with the English crown see: Whitwell, "Italian Bankers and the English Crown", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, XVII. (1903); and Bond, "Extract from the Liberate Rolls relative to the Loans supplied by Italian Merchants to the Kings of England", *Archæologia*, XXVII. (1840). Cf. Hansen, "Der Englische Staatscredit unter König Edward III. und die Hansischen Kauffleute", *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* (1910).

²⁵ F. Arens, "Wilhelm Servat von Cahors als Kaufmann zu London", *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1913), pp. 477 ff.

²⁶ V. Fris, "Thomas Fin, Receveur de Flandre", *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire de Belgique* (1900), pp. 8 ff.

²⁷ Schneider, "Die Finanziellen Beziehungen der Florentinischen Banquiers zur Kirche", *Schmollers Forschungen*, vol. XVII.

greatness, and to which it had adapted itself. The direction of the currents of commerce is altered. In the north, the English and Dutch marine gradually take the place of the hanses. In the Mediterranean, commerce centres itself at Venice and at Genoa. On the shores of the Atlantic, Lisbon becomes the great market for spices, and Antwerp, supplanting Bruges, becomes the rendezvous of European commerce. The sixteenth century sees this movement grow more rapid. It is favored at once by moral, political, and economic causes; the intellectual progress of the Renaissance, the expansion of individualism, great wars exciting speculation, the disturbance of monetary circulation caused by the influx of precious metals from the New World. As the science of the Middle Ages disappears and the humanist takes the place of the scholastic, so a new economy rises in the place of the old urban economy. The state subjects the towns to its superior power. It restrains their political autonomy at the same time that it sets commerce and industry free from the guardianship which the towns have hitherto imposed upon them. The protectionism and the exclusiveness of the bourgeoisies are brought to an end. If the craft-gilds continue to exist, yet they no longer control the organization of labor. New industries appear, which, to escape the meddling surveillance of the municipal authorities, establish themselves in the country. Side by side with the old privileged towns, which merely vegetate, younger manufacturing centres, full of strength and exuberance, arise; in England, Sheffield and Birmingham, in Flanders, Hondschoote and Armentières.²⁸

The spirit which is now manifested in the world of business, is that same spirit of freedom which animates the intellectual world. In a society in process of formation, the individual, enfranchised, gives the rein to his boldness. He despises tradition, gives himself up with unrestrained delight to his virtuosity. There are to be no more limits on speculation, no more fetters on commerce, no more meddling of authority in relations between employers and employed. The most skillful wins. Competition, up to this time held in check, runs riot. In a few years enormous fortunes are built up, others are swallowed up in resounding bankruptcies. The Antwerp exchange is a pandemonium where bankers, deep-sea sailors, stock-jobbers, dealers in futures, millionaire merchants, jostle each other—and sharpers and adventurers to whom all means of money-getting, even assassination, are acceptable.

This confused recasting of the economic world transfers the rôle played by the capitalists of the late Middle Ages to a class of new

²⁸ Pirenne, "Une Crise Industrielle au XVI^e Siècle", *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, classe des lettres* (1905).

men. Few are the descendants of the business men of the fourteenth century among those of the fifteenth and sixteenth. Thrown out of their course by the current of events, they have not been willing to risk fortunes already acquired. Most of them are seen turning toward administrative careers, entering the service of the state as members of the councils of justice or finance and aspiring to the *noblesse de robe*, which, with the aid of fortunate marriages, will land their sons in the circle of the true nobility. As for the new rich of the period, they almost all appear to us like parvenus. Jacques Cœur is a parvenu in France. The Fugger and many other German financiers—the Herwarts, the Seilers, the Manlichs, the Haugs—are parvenus of whose families we know little before the fifteenth century, and so are the Frescobaldi and the Gualterotti of Florence, or that Gaspar Ducci of Pistoia who is perhaps the most representative of the fortune-hunters of the period.²⁹ Later, when Amsterdam has inherited the commercial hegemony of Antwerp, the importance of the parvenus characterizes it not less clearly. We may merely mention here, among the first makers of its greatness, Willem Usselinx,³⁰ Balthazar de Moucheron, Isaac Lemaire. And if from the world of commerce we turn toward that of industry the aspect is the same. Christophe Plantin, the famous printer, is the son of a simple peasant of Touraine.

The exuberance of capitalism which reached its height in the second half of the sixteenth century was not maintained. Even as the regulative spirit characteristic of the urban economy followed upon the freedom of the twelfth century, so mercantilism imposed itself upon commerce and industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By protective duties and bounties on exportation, by subsidies of all sorts to manufactures and national navigation, by the acquiring of transmarine colonies, by the creation of privileged commercial companies, by the inspection of manufacturing processes, by the perfecting of means of transportation and the suppression of interior custom-houses, every state strives to increase its means of production, to close its market to its competitors, and to make the balance of trade incline in its favor. Doubtless the idea that "liberty is the soul of commerce" does not wholly disappear, but the endeavor is to regulate that liberty henceforward in conformity to the interest of the public weal. It is put under the control of intendants, of consuls, of chambers of commerce. We are entering into the period of national economy.

This was destined to last, as is familiar, until the moment when, in England at the end of the eighteenth century, on the Continent in

²⁹ R. Ehrenberg, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger*, I. 311 ff.

³⁰ J. F. Jameson, "Willem Usselinx", in *Am. Hist. Assoc., Papers*, II.

the first years of the nineteenth, the invention of machinery and the application of steam to manufacturing completely disorganized the conditions of economic activity. The phenomena of the sixteenth century are reproduced, but with tenfold intensity. Merchants accustomed to the routine of mercantilism and to state protection are pushed aside. We do not see them pushing forward into the career which opens itself before them, unless as lenders of money. In their turn, and as we have seen it at each great crisis of economic history, they retire from business and transform themselves into an aristocracy. Of the powerful houses which are established on all hands and which give the impetus to the modern industries of metallurgy, of the spinning and weaving of wool, linen, and cotton, hardly one is connected with the establishments existing before the end of the eighteenth century. Once again, it is new men, enterprising spirits, and sturdy characters which profit by the circumstances.³¹ At most, the old capitalists, transformed into landed proprietors, play still an active rôle in the exploitation of the mines, because of the necessary dependence of that industry upon the possessors of the soil, but it can be safely affirmed that those who have presided over the gigantic progress of international economy, of the exuberant activity which now affects the whole world, were, as at the time of the Renaissance, parvenus, self-made men. As at the time of the Renaissance, again, their belief is in individualism and liberalism alone. Breaking with the traditions of the old régime, they take for their motto "*laissez faire, laissez passer*". They carry the consequences of the principle to an extreme. Unrestrained competition sets them to struggling with each other and soon arouses resistance in the form of socialism, among the proletariat that they are exploiting. And at the same time that that resistance arises to confront capital, the latter, itself suffering from the abuses of that freedom which had enabled it to rise, compels itself to discipline its affairs. Cartels, trusts, syndicates of producers, are organized, while states, perceiving that it is impossible to leave employers and employees longer to contend in anarchy, elaborate a social legislation; and international regulations, transcending the frontiers of the various countries, begin to be applied to working men.

I am aware how incomplete is this rapid sketch of the evolution of capitalism through a thousand years of history. As I said at the

³¹ See, in Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, p. 618, this citation from P. Gaskell: "Few of the men who entered the trade rich were successful. They trusted too much to others, too little to themselves." Let us recall here that the founder of the largest industrial establishments of Belgium, John Cockerill, was a simple workman. See E. Mahaim, "Les Débuts de l'Établissement John Cockerill à Seraing", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1905), p. 627.

beginning, I present it merely as an hypothesis resting on the very imperfect knowledge which we yet possess of the different movements of economic development. Yet, in so far as it is exact, it justifies the observation I made at the beginning of this study. It shows that the growth of capitalism is not a movement proceeding along a straight line, but has been marked, rather, by a series of separate impulses not forming continuations one of another, but interrupted by crises.

To this first remark may be added two others, which are in a way corollaries.

The first relates to the truly surprising regularity with which the phases of economic freedom and of economic regulation have succeeded each other. The free expansion of wandering commerce comes to its end in the urban economy, the individualistic ardor of the Renaissance leads to mercantilism, and finally, to the age of liberalism succeeds our own epoch of social legislation.

The second remark, with which I shall close, lies in the moral and political rather than the economic field. It may be stated in this form, that every class of capitalists is at the beginning animated by a clearly progressive and innovating spirit but becomes conservative as its activities become regulated. To convince one's self of this truth it is sufficient to recall that the merchants of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are the ancestors of the bourgeoisie and the creators of the first urban institutions; that the business men of the Renaissance struggled as energetically as the humanists against the social traditions of the Middle Ages; and finally, that those of the nineteenth century have been among the most ardent upholders of liberalism. This would suffice to prove to us, if we did not know it otherwise, that all these have at the beginning been nothing else than parvenus brought into action by the transformations of society, embarrassed neither by custom nor by routine, having nothing to lose and therefore the bolder in their race toward profit. But soon the primitive energy relaxes. The descendants of the new rich wish to preserve the situation which they have acquired, provided public authority will guarantee it to them, even at the price of a troublesome surveillance; they do not hesitate to place their influence at its service, and wait for the moment when, pushed aside by new men, they shall demand of the state that it recognize officially the rank to which they have raised their families, shall on their entrance into the nobility become a legal class and no longer a social group, and shall consider it beneath them to carry on that commerce which in the beginning made their fortunes.

HENRI PIRENNE.

THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADE

THE expeditions which are generally known as the Children's Crusade made a strong impression upon the contemporaries. Comparatively few events of the thirteenth century were recounted by more chroniclers and in more various fashions. The accounts consist frequently of only a few words, such as: "Eodem anno fuit iter stultorum puerorum";¹ "Multitudo infancium ab hereticis traditur Saracenis";² or, "Eodem anno peregrinacio puerorum".³ But there are also long narratives, especially the one by Alberic⁴ in which he gives, from hearsay evidence, a story of what happened to the children across the sea. Some of the accounts are in rude verse form, such as:

Annis millenis bis centenis duodenis
Est cruce signata puerorum multa caterva;⁵
Annis millenis duodenis adde ducentos;
Tunc multi pueri sunt effecti peregrini;⁶
Anno milleno bis centeno duodeno
Cum pueris pueri currunt loca sancta tueri.⁷
Res fit mira nimis: puero ductore marinis
Sedibus innumeri conveniunt pueri.⁸

Others by their form and wording betray the fact that their material is drawn from an original in verse. These two classes of sources indicate that the children's pilgrimage had early become a theme of popular songs which were widely known. On the other hand such men as Vincent of Beauvais and Roger Bacon, writing a few decades later, felt that the expedition was of sufficient intrinsic importance to justify a mention of it in their learned works.⁹

In the thirteenth century legends soon clustered about a subject of such popular interest. Probably there was no account of the movement written by any participant. Some chroniclers had known something of the beginnings; others had seen the bands on their march; no one knew the facts for the whole movement; conse-

¹ "Ann. Ellenhardi", *MGSS.*, XVII. 101.

² "Ann. Heimbürg.", *MGSS.*, XVII. 714.

³ "Cont. Claustro-neoburg, tertia", *MGSS.*, IX. 634.

⁴ *MGSS.*, XXIII. 893.

⁵ "Flores Temp.", *MGSS.*, XXIV. 240.

⁶ "Chron. Elwacen.", *MGSS.*, X. 37.

⁷ "Ann. Thuring. breves", *MGSS.*, XXIV. 41.

⁸ "Ann. Zweifalt.", *MGSS.*, X. 58.

⁹ Vincent, *Bibl. Mundi*, XXX., c. 5, and *Speculum Hist.*, XXXI., c. 5; Bacon, *Opus Majus* (ed. Bridges), I. 401.

quently all felt free to follow their own fancy in explaining the points concerning which they had no knowledge. Those who were strictly contemporary or who were writing under the glamor of the enthusiasm excited by the children were inclined to ascribe the origin of the movement to divine inspiration,¹⁰ or to the message of an angel,¹¹ or to a vision.¹² Writers who had known something of the failure of the children conceived of the movement as the work of the devil;¹³ this opinion gained ground steadily and colored all the later accounts. By no one of the chroniclers, however, was it more naïvely expressed than by Thomas Fuller, who wrote, four hundred years later, in his *Holy War*: "It was done (saith my author [M. Paris]) by the instinct of the devil, who, as it were, desired a cordial of children's blood to comfort his weak stomach long cloyed with murdering of men."¹⁴

Naturally these legends and beliefs obscured the truth to some extent, both then and since. For while there is a wealth of material to be gleaned from about sixty writers of the thirteenth century, of whom at least sixteen left independent accounts worthy of credence in whole or part, modern historians have been influenced by the romantic phases of the movement and have not followed the critical methods which they employ in describing other events. Even Röhricht, who was generally so sober and matter-of-fact and in his *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* wrote such uninspiring, although extremely useful, chronological summaries of events, when he tells of the Children's Crusade¹⁵ accepts uncritically legendary statements of Alberic in order to piece out his tale. Janssens, whose account¹⁶ is on the whole the best, did not know all the sources and used his material equally uncritically, apparently seeking the picturesque and striking. The same characteristics mark Gray's *Children's Crusade*,¹⁷ and, to some extent, Molinier's article in *La*

¹⁰ "Chron. regia Colon.", *MGSS*, XVII. 826; "Chron. Anon. Laud.", Bouquet, XVIII. 715.

¹¹ "Ann. Placent. Guelfi", *MGSS*, XVIII. 426.

¹² "Sicardus", Muratori, VII. 624.

¹³ "Ex deceptione maligni hostis", "Chron. Ebersheim.", *MGSS*, XXIII. 450; "instinctu diabolico", "Ann. Admunt. cont.", *MGSS*, IX. 592.

¹⁴ Pickering edition (London, 1840), p. 160.

¹⁵ *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XXXVI. 1 ff. (1876).

¹⁶ Étienne de Cloyes et les Croisades d'Enfants", *Bulletin de la Soc. Dunoise* (Chateaudun, 1891).

¹⁷ First published in 1870, and frequently reprinted since. The author of this interesting little book was not a trained historian and consequently it is not surprising to find him using good, bad, and indifferent sources with equal confidence. In his bibliography of thirty titles he cites as a contemporary a man who died before the movement began; he quotes the same account under two different names in three instances; and he has many other errors.

Grande Encyclopédie. Consequently it has seemed worth while to set forth the facts about this subject.

There were two movements in 1212, one of French, the other of German children; if they were in any way connected, as seems probable, such connection cannot be proved from the extant sources. For the French children the most trustworthy sources are the anonymous chroniclers of Laon,¹⁸ Mortemer,¹⁹ Jumièges,²⁰ and Andres.²¹ All of these writers are evidently describing the same movement but there are only a very few facts which are vouched for by more than one. From their brief accounts the following story can be gleaned.

In the month of June, 1212,²² a shepherd boy named Stephen from the village of Cloyes, near Vendôme, said that the Lord had appeared to him in the guise of a poor pilgrim, had accepted bread from him, and had given him a letter to carry to the King of France. He went to S. Denis with shepherd lads of his own age and there the Lord wrought many miracles through him, as many have testified. There were also very many other boys who were held in great reverence by the vulgar throngs in very many places, so that they also were believed to have worked miracles. A multitude of children joined them, as if they were about to go under their leadership to the holy boy Stephen whom they all recognized as their master and prince.²³ The bands, composed of boys and girls with some youths and older persons, marched in procession through the cities, castles, towns, and villages, carrying banners, candles, and crosses, and swinging censers, singing in the vernacular, "Lord God, exalt Christianity! Lord God, restore to us the true cross." They sang not only these words but many others, because there were various processions and each one made such variations as it chose.²⁴ When they were asked by their parents or others where they wished to go they replied, one and all, as if they had been moved by one spirit, "To God!"²⁵ The children could not be restrained at first; but, according to the annals of Jumièges, they were finally compelled by

¹⁸ Bouquet, XVIII. 715.

¹⁹ *MGSS.*, VI. 467.

²⁰ Generally called "Anon. cont. App. Roberti de Monte", *MGSS.*, XXVI. 510.

²¹ Bouquet, XVIII. 574. Andres is near Calais.

²² Chronicle of Laon. There is no doubt that the year was 1212. The Chronicle of Mortemer gives 1213; but the context indicates why the mistake was made.

²³ All thus far is from the Laon chronicle. The annals of Jumièges also state that the movement started from Vendôme.

²⁴ Chronicle of Mortemer. The accounts from Andres and Jumièges also mention the cities, castles, etc.

²⁵ Chronicle of Andres. Cf. the annals of Jumièges for their answer, "To God!"

hunger to return home. According to the Laon chronicle the king, at last, consulted the masters of the University of Paris concerning the matter and at his command the children returned home. The other two chroniclers say nothing about the ending. With regard to the extent of the movement, one says the children came from diverse parts of Gaul; another, that the movement extended through almost all Gaul; a third, that it was in the Kingdom of the French; the fourth, that the children came from different cities, castles, towns, and villages. It is to be noted that Jumièges and Mortemer are near Rouen, and Andres near Calais. Consequently the places to which our information extends were included roughly in the territory between Paris, Laon, Calais, and Rouen, with the possibility that the movement started from Vendôme, and that it may have extended much more widely. All the four sources indicate that the participants were many; one says an infinite multitude; the Laon chronicle gives the number with Stephen as 30,000.

It is significant that only one of these sources mentions Stephen or indicates that the movement had any unity or purpose, except going "to God". Later accounts naturally were prone to fill out the gaps. The Laon chronicle says that it seemed to many that the Lord was about to do some great and new thing through these innocents spontaneously gathered together, but it turned out very differently. The chronicle of Mortemer believed that it was a presage of future events, namely of those which happened the next year "when the Roman legate signed a multitude with the cross for a new crusade". This idea may well have been fostered by the indefinite statement of the chronicler at Andres that the children "were hastening toward the Mediterranean". But not one of these four, who are the best authorities, hints that the children were thinking of a crusade, or even a pilgrimage. Yet the movement was connected with the crusades in the minds of those who wrote a little later. The *Annals of Soissons*²⁶ state that the infants and children said they were going across the sea to seek the holy cross; and the *Chronicle of Barnwell*,²⁷ that it is reported that the children, when asked what they proposed to do, said that they were about to recover the cross of Christ. The opinion soon became general that the French children had planned a crusade. Later writers added more details. An unknown author added to the chronicle of Matthew of Paris an account of the march toward the Mediterranean. The leader rode in a chariot surrounded by armed guards and was reputed so holy that anyone counted himself fortunate who could procure a hair

²⁶ *MGSS.*, XXVI. 521.

²⁷ Written about 1227, in England.

from his head or a thread from his garments. "But all perished either on land or sea."²⁸ In the compilation which formerly passed as the work of Albericus Trium Fontium a long account is given, to which reference has already been made. "At first they came from the neighborhood of Vendôme to Paris." When they were about 30,000 in number they proceeded to Marseilles as if they were about to cross the sea against the Saracens. There two merchants, Hugo Ferreus and William Porcus, offered to carry them across the sea without charge. They filled seven great vessels with the infants; two were shipwrecked and all on board were drowned. The other five vessels went to Bugia and Alexandria and the children were sold to the Saracens. The caliph bought four hundred, all clerics, among whom there were eighty priests. This same caliph had formerly studied at Paris in the garb of a cleric. Eighteen of the children were tortured to death because they refused to renounce their Christian faith, but not one of the others became an apostate. One of the clerics escaped and reported these facts and added that eighteen years after the expedition the ruler of Alexandria still held 700, "no longer infants, but men of ripe age". It is a satisfaction to learn from this account that the two merchants were detected in other villainy and hung.²⁹ This story rests upon the evidence of the one clerk who claimed to have returned, and is full of manifest improbabilities, such as the facts that eighty of the infants were priests, and that the Moslems tortured the children to make them apostatize. Other later writers repeat some of these statements and add some accounts of miracles; but not one chronicle mentions the band of children at any place between Paris and Marseilles. And not a single chronicle written south of the Loire mentions the movement at all. It is very clear that the contemporaries were right and that the children returned home, after marching around and singing in processions for a time.

For the German children the material is more ample and their undertaking may well be called a crusade. It is true that no one of the chroniclers depicts the whole movement and that each one can be trusted only for a few facts. But several entirely independent writers give separate dates and geographical indications which dovetail neatly and enable us to follow some portions of the crusade with great accuracy; and furthermore they corroborate one another with regard to some details. The best of these accounts were written at

²⁸ M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (ed. Luard), II. 556; cf. preface, p. x.

²⁹ MGSS., XXIII. 893.

Cologne,³⁰ Treves,³¹ Spire,³² Marbach³³ in Alsace, Ebersheim,³⁴ which is northwest from Schlettstadt, Admunt³⁵ near Salzburg, Cremona,³⁶ Piacenza,³⁷ and Genoa;³⁸ all but the two from Cremona and Genoa are anonymous; but all were either composed within a few years after 1212 or else contain statements which suggest that the account was given by an eye-witness. Neglecting, for the present, the many other less valuable accounts, the story of the expedition can be reconstructed from these nine or ten independent sources.

The leader of the German movement was a boy from Cologne named Nicholas;³⁹ where it began is uncertain, although possibly it was in or near the Rhine valley.⁴⁰ The year was 1212⁴¹ and probably the time was between Easter and Pentecost.⁴² The participants are said to have been very numerous⁴³ and to have come from a wide extent of territory.⁴⁴ There were men and women, boys and girls,⁴⁵ even babes at the breasts;⁴⁶ the majority were young and appear to have been mainly from the agricultural classes, as it is recorded that they left their ploughs, carts, or herds,⁴⁷ and hastened to join the bands which were marching through the country. Some evil men and women were attracted by the excitement or by the opportunity for plunder and vice.⁴⁸ Just when and where the various bands⁴⁹ came together and marched under the leadership of Nicholas cannot be ascertained, but there seems to have been only one company when they first entered Italy and proceeded to Genoa.

³⁰ Two separate accounts: "Cont. II.", *MGSS.*, XXIV. 17-18; "Cont. III.", *ibid.*, XVII. 826. Less trustworthy than some of the others.

³¹ *MGSS.*, XXIV. 398-399.

³² *Ibid.*, XVII. 84.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, XXIII. 450.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, IX. 592.

³⁶ By Sicardus, bishop of Cremona, who died in 1215. Muratori, VII. 624; Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CCXIII. col. 539.

³⁷ *MGSS.*, XVIII. 426.

³⁸ By Ogerius, a contemporary. Muratori, VI. 403; *MGSS.*, XVIII. 131.

³⁹ "Puerulus Nicolaus nomine veniens a pago Coloniensi", "Chron. Ebersheim."; cf. "Ogerius", "Ann. Plac. Guelfi", "Gesta Trev.", "Ann. Admunt."

⁴⁰ Sicardus says, "in partibus Coloniae"; but he does not mention Nicholas and may have confused the place of starting with the home of the leader.

⁴¹ All the sources mentioned above, except one; and many others.

⁴² So in "Chron. reg. Colon. Cont. II.", which gives the wrong year.

⁴³ According to six of the best sources.

⁴⁴ Three of these sources speak of participants from both Germany and Gaul; one adds Burgundy. The "Gesta Trev." says from all the towns and villages of Germany.

⁴⁵ According to eight of these sources.

⁴⁶ "Ann. Plac. Guelfi".

⁴⁷ "Chron. reg. Colon. Cont. III."; cf. "Ann. Marbac."

⁴⁸ "Chron. reg. Colon. Cont. III."; cf. "Ann. Admunt."

⁴⁹ "Chron. reg. Colon. Cont. II."; "Gesta Trev."

All but two of the best sources speak of this movement as a crusade or pilgrimage and the children are described as carrying crosses, staves, and scripts.⁵⁰ Nicholas himself bore a cross in the shape of a Greek Tau but the chronicler at Treves says it was not easy to tell what it was made of. The pilgrimage was looked upon with favor by the people, except possibly the parents and friends,⁵¹ and food was gladly given to the children. Opposition on the part of some of the clergy was attributed to their jealousy.⁵²

Their general route was up the Rhine valley, over the Alps, and down into Italy:⁵³ their presence is mentioned at Spire, through which some of them probably passed on July 25,⁵⁴ and at Piacenza, which Nicholas reached on August 20 or 21.⁵⁵ On Saturday, August 25, they arrived at Genoa where, "in the opinion of good men, the pilgrims numbered more than seven thousand men, women, boys, and girls".⁵⁶ "On the following Sunday they left the city; but many men, women, boys, and girls of their number remained at Genoa."⁵⁷ Some are said to have gone to Marseilles;⁵⁸ others to "*Vieneiam*, which is a city near the sea, and there some were taken on board vessels and carried off by pirates to be sold to the Saracens";⁵⁹ still others went to Brindisi where "the bishop detecting the plot did not permit them to embark; for they had been sold to the heathen by the father of Nicholas".⁶⁰ Evidently, from these accounts, the band was breaking up and seeking at various ports to cross over to the Holy Land.⁶¹ When they first entered Italy they had all declared "with one heart and one voice that they would pass through the seas on dry land and would recover the Holy Land and Jerusalem".⁶² Finally all seem to have become discouraged; many perished of hardships, hunger, and thirst, in the forests

⁵⁰ "Ogerius".

⁵¹ "Chron. reg. Colon. Cont. II."

⁵² "Ann. Marbac."

⁵³ Cf. "Chron. reg. Colon. Cont. II." It is possible that there were various bands which followed different routes. Some of the statements in the chronicles written in parts of Germany remote from the Rhine valley can be understood more easily by this hypothesis; but the indications are too scanty to justify its assertion.

⁵⁴ "Ann. Spir.", *MGSS.*, XVII. 84.

⁵⁵ "Ann. Plac. Guelfi"; cf. "Chron. reg. Colon. Cont. II."

⁵⁶ "Ogerius".

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ "Chron. reg. Colon. Cont. II." This probably gave rise to the story about the French children.

⁵⁹ "Chron. Ebersheim." Again, cf. the story of the French children.

⁶⁰ "Gesta Trev."

⁶¹ The children are said to have gone to Treviso, *MGSS.*, IX. 780, and probably to Monza, "Chron. reg. Colon. Cont. II."; but this may have been Mainz.

⁶² "Sicardus", Muratori, VII. 624.

and waste places; many were despoiled by the Lombards;⁶³ many were sold into slavery in divers places.⁶⁴ Some at length, when they realized the folly of their undertaking, went to Rome,⁶⁵ and the young children and old people were released from their vow to go on a crusade; the others were not freed, but were allowed to postpone the fulfillment of their vow.

The few who returned home, went back ignominiously, singly or in little groups, silently and sadly. The people who had so generously supplied their wants on their triumphant progress now turned a deaf ear to their entreaties and pointed in derision at the maidens who had gone forth as virgins and now returned in shame.⁶⁶ It is recorded that Nicholas afterwards fought bravely at Acre and in the siege of Damietta and returned unharmed.⁶⁷

Naturally the imagination of the contemporaries seized upon the obscurity attending the end of the movement and fanciful accounts and explanations were soon believed. The most interesting of the tales invented to account for the origin of the crusade ascribed it to the desire of the Old Man of the Mountains to obtain a choice band of young warriors.⁶⁸ Röhricht, in the account already mentioned, connects the tale of the Pied Piper of Hamelin with the Children's Crusade. He states that the original of the tale is dated in 1284 and that it records that the rat-catcher by magic attracted hundreds of children to follow him. He thinks that it is significant that the legend, after relating the disappearance of the children in the mountain, makes them reappear on the Road of Charles the Great, the traditional route of crusaders on their way to the Holy Land.⁶⁹

While this crusading movement is of comparatively little importance it is of great interest for the light which it throws upon the mental attitude of the contemporaries. Many of the statements which have been quoted from the chronicles illustrate this. It must also be remembered that somewhat similar undertakings by children are recorded in 1237 and in 1458.⁷⁰ It is easy to understand why the

⁶³ "Chron. reg. Colon. Cont. III."

⁶⁴ "Ann. Admunt."

⁶⁵ "Chron. reg. Colon. Cont. II." ; "Ann. Marbac."

⁶⁶ "Chron. Ebersheim." ; "Ann. Marbac." ; "Gesta Trev." ; "Chron. reg. Colon. Cont. III."

⁶⁷ "Ann. Admunt." says (1217), "Post non multum temporis in peregrinatione sancte crucis prefatus dux transfretavit, et apud Akirs et in obsidione Damiate, ad duos fere annos [1219] strenue militavit; et tandem incolomis remeavit: et hoc totum infra spacium tam presentis anni quam etiam duorum precedentium annorum", which indicates that it was strictly contemporary.

⁶⁸ Vincent of Beauvais; cf. Chronicle of Lanercost. The Old Man of the Mountains was the head of the sect of Assassins.

⁶⁹ *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XXXVI. 8 (1876).

⁷⁰ Röhricht, *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XXXVI. 2 (1876); cf. Annals of Waverley, 1214.

children might desire in their enthusiasm to join the triumphantly advancing bands, but it is difficult to explain the acquiescence of their parents and the favorable opinion of the crusade apparently held by learned clerics. One writer puts into the mouth of the great Innocent III. the exclamation, "These children put us to shame, because while we sleep they rush to recover the Holy Land."⁷¹ In spite of Innocent's zeal for the cause of the crusades, we can scarcely believe that he could have viewed such an undertaking with approval; but even Luchaire's profound study of this pope has not revealed all the phases of his many-sided character.

DANA C. MUNRO.

⁷¹ MGSS., XVI. 355.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH WITH THE RUSSIAN CZARS¹

THE relations of England with Russia began in 1553. In the autumn of that year an English ship, called the *Edward Bonaventure* and directed by the pilot Richard Chancellor, had been forced by contrary winds to seek harbor in the mouth of the river Dvina on the north coast of Russia. The sparse inhabitants of this desert country gave shelter to their unexpected guests, and sent to Moscow an account of what had happened, and the czar Ivan the Terrible invited the English to his court.

This monarch, who has long been known in history chiefly as a tyrant and a sanguinary monster, had entertained projects and ideas which were much in advance of the thoughts of the rest of the Muscovites; and one of them was to put his great empire in contact with the civilized nations of western Europe. His plans agreed with the desire of Chancellor to make "the discovery of the new country" a profit to the company of merchant adventurers, which had sent him out. Arrived at the Russian capital, the English agent proposed to establish regular commercial relations between the two countries by the new route which he had discovered; the czar agreed eagerly to this proposal and promised extensive privileges to the English merchants in his country. From 1555 on, the new company of merchant adventurers, called generally in the documents of the time "Russia Company" or "Muscovy Company", organized regular expeditions to Russia, which was to become a new and rich domain for the commercial activity and enterprise of the English. But the relations of England with Russia in the sixteenth century were not only commercial, but also diplomatic. This has been overlooked in England, and though the Russia Company has had the good fortune to interest English, American, and Russian historians,² the cor-

¹ A paper read at the International Congress of Historical Studies, in London, April 4, 1913.

² At the end of the sixteenth century Hakluyt in his *Principall Navigations* had gathered a quantity of documents concerning the English travels to Russia, and the organization and activity of the Russia Company, but it will be no exaggeration to say, that until the twentieth century these materials remained nearly unstudied and unused. In the second half of the nineteenth century two books concerning the relations of England with Russia appeared; Hamel, *England and Russia* (London, 1853) and Tolstoi, *The First Forty Years of Intercourse between England and Russia* (St. Petersburg, 1875). Both historians were Russians, both had worked in the English records and published in Russian and Eng-

respondence which was exchanged between Elizabeth and the Russian czars has remained almost entirely unknown. This most curious and very interesting correspondence is not at present easy to study as a whole, for it lacks a systematic and critical edition,³ yet its interest cannot be denied, for many questions concerning the activity of the Russia Company which remain unanswered, will find their clear and undoubted solution in those letters.⁴ More than ninety such letters dated from 1554 to 1603 have come to our knowledge, and surely many have been lost.⁵ Some of them have been published in various Russian works, but others remain unpublished and are to be looked for in the archives of England and

lish; they gave valuable documents and information, but they did not try to use the materials in Hakluyt and to reconstruct the history of the Russia Company, which has had no historian until very recent years, when scholars of different countries have simultaneously taken an interest in it. We have first to mention, in England, W. R. Scott, *Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, 1910-1913). In the second volume of this remarkable work Professor Scott has given in 46 pages a description of the economic organization and finance of the Russia Company. W. S. Page, *The Russia Company from 1553 to 1660* (London, 1913); this little book has no historical value and consists almost entirely of a simple reprint of the documents published three centuries ago by Hakluyt. In America in 1912 a thesis, by Mr. A. J. Gerson, appeared under the title: *The Organization and Early History of the Muscovy Company* (New York, 1912). In 1911 I published in Russia an article under the title "The English Merchant Company in Russia in the Sixteenth Century" (*Anglijskaia Torgovaia Companiia v. Rossii (v XVI. Veke)*), in the historical review of the Historical Society of St. Petersburg (*Istoricheskoe Obozrenie*), t. XVI. In January, 1912, my French article "Les Marchands Anglais en Russie au XVI^e Siècle" was published in the *Revue Historique*, CIX. 1-26. In the same year the Russian Board of Commerce published the first part of my *History of the Commercial Relations of Russia with England (Istoriia Torgovikh Snoshenii Rossii s Angliiey)* (St. Petersburg, 1912).

³ No attempt has been made in England to publish this correspondence, with the exception of some individual letters published by Hakluyt and by Bond, *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*; and those who wish to read this correspondence will have to look for Russian editions. Many letters have been published in the book of Tolstoi, who printed them in duplicate, Russian and English or Latin; others are to be found in the *Collection of the Historical Society (Sbornik Istoricheskago Obchestva)*, t. XXXVIII.; many other Russian historical collections have printed separate specimens of this correspondence, but some interesting letters remain unpublished. I have printed three of them in the *Mélanges Bémont* (Paris, 1913).

⁴ As an example we will mention here only one point: On page 38 of his first volume Professor Scott raises the question, why in 1569 the company began to lose the support hitherto given to it by the czar. He considers that "unfortunately, it is impossible to determine whether this was due to the machinations of rival merchants, or whether it is to be attributed to malpractices of the company's agents in Russia". We shall see clearly by the study of this correspondence, that the reason was purely diplomatic (see p. 530).

⁵ Sometimes letters of one correspondent mention letters of the other which are not to be found.

Russia.⁶ Read separately and unsystematically these letters lose much of their interest, but when considered as a whole the correspondence is of great attractiveness to the historian; written by such great historical personalities, the letters represent two most different worlds of life and thought. The monarchs seek for a close alliance, which, as we shall see, proved difficult of accomplishment.

The originals of many of these letters have been lost, and are represented only by copies in the Public Record Office and British Museum; but the few which have survived show us precisely what was a letter of the czar sent to England or a letter of Elizabeth sent to the Russian court.

The originals of the czars' letters are very beautiful; they were written on parchment, the first lines in gold, in a large clear handwriting. Their seal with the double-headed eagle is often preserved unbroken. The letter begins with a short preamble, always the same, and with the long title of the czar, enumerating separately all the provinces of his vast empire. This was called in Russia "the big title", and was obligatory not only for the letters written in the chancery of Moscow, but also for those which were addressed to the Russian court; every time that Elizabeth tried to abbreviate it, the act was regarded as an offense to the dignity of the czar.

As to the English queen, she used always the short title: "Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.", and her letters also had no preamble. At the end of them we find the subscription of the queen, which was not the custom of the Russian chancery.

Some letters of Elizabeth cannot be found in England, either in their original, or in an English or Latin copy, but have been preserved in the archives of Moscow in Russian translations of the sixteenth century.⁷ These documents may be defective in many points, and sometimes express inexactly the thought of Queen Elizabeth, but they are precious to the historian largely because they bring to his knowledge documents which might have remained unknown, but still more perhaps because they enable him to compare the letters of the queen and those of the czar, written in the same rude Russian style of the sixteenth century; the difference in the standard of mind and degree of culture of the two correspondents can be more completely

⁶ In England we find letters of the czars in London, in the Public Record Office, Royal Letters, and State Papers Foreign; in the British Museum, Nero B. VIII. and B. XI. and 13. B. I.; in Oxford in the Ashmolean. In Russia we have to look for letters of Elizabeth in Moscow, in the Records of the Board of Foreign Affairs (Arkiv Ministerstva Inostrannikh Del), English Letters.

⁷ Records of the Board of Foreign Affairs, English Books (Anglijskii Knigi).

felt and more surely appreciated, when the difference of linguistic form has disappeared.

The letters, whether originals or copies, are generally dated: those of the czars by the year of the Creation, those of the queen by the year of the Incarnation.

The style of the two correspondents is very different. The letters of the czars are in that respect documents of the Middle Ages. If the preamble and the title are always identical, the rest of the letter, on the contrary, lacks all order; its style is heavy and obstructed by repetitions, and even a Russian cannot easily come to a clear understanding of the document. The czar's letter is generally long, for it begins by summarizing the precedent letter of the queen, to which it gives an answer. This custom has its value, because it gives sometimes a résumé of a letter that has disappeared. But, if we overlook the defects of the style, we must recognize that we have in the czar Ivan a most fascinating writer; his letters are full of energy and vehemence, they show a force, a vigor, characteristic of the man—the intelligent and proud despot.

Compared with the writings of her Russian correspondent, the letters of Queen Elizabeth are quite modern, short and simple, expressing clearly the ideas of their author, and they are generally easy and agreeable to read. To the vehement force and rudeness of her correspondent Elizabeth opposes a great moderation and diplomatic ability; under very friendly and sometimes humble terms we find a firm mastership over word and action, a resolution to promise much and hold as little as possible.

Though regularly continued for nearly fifty years, this correspondence had its fluctuations, and the number of letters exchanged was very different in different years. The average was two or three letters per year, the greatest number eight, for 1589, but there were whole periods when the exchange of epistles entirely ceased, for example from 1575 to 1581.

Elizabeth corresponded with three Russian czars: from 1561 to 1583 with Ivan the Terrible; from 1584 to 1597 with his son, Feodor Ivanovitch, and from 1598 to 1603 with Boris Feodorovitch. Of these three correspondences the first presents the greatest interest, for two reasons: first, it falls in the more interesting period of the origins of the Anglo-Russian relations; and secondly, the czar Ivan the Terrible presents an unsolved enigma for the dispassionate historian and his letters to Queen Elizabeth, reflecting his mighty personality, are inestimable documents.

The two correspondents had very different motives for addressing each other. While the views of Elizabeth were exclusively com-

mercial, Ivan had political views and plans; the queen hoped to obtain commercial privileges for the English company, the czar wished to make her accept a political alliance between the two countries. This must be kept clearly in view. It gives a key to the understanding of the diplomatic and commercial relations between the two countries in the sixteenth century; and all the history of the Muscovy Company, of the difficulties which it experienced in Russia, can be explained only if we hold in mind the difference of views between the English policy in Russia and the Russian policy in England. Every time that the Muscovy Company loses its privileges in Russia, the reason is not to be looked for in the defects of its organization or in the lack of activity on its part, but in the reluctance of England to accept a political alliance with Russia.

The correspondence of the two monarchs reflects their different states of mind. Elizabeth is always trying to protect the interests of the Muscovy Company, which has received from her the privilege of the Russian commerce. In her first letters⁸ she addresses thanks to the czar for the amiable reception of her merchants at the court of Moscow; when they begin to be molested, she makes herself the echo of their complaints; she recommends to the czar the agents sent out by the company,⁹ and gives him information of their plans and desires.¹⁰ Ivan the Terrible was clever enough to understand that the activity of the company might be of great use to his country. The English had found a new route, by which they could come to Russia, unhindered by her neighbors, the Poles and the Danes, who joined their efforts to hold back his empire from contact with western civilization. An immediate importance for Muscovy lay in the importation of arms and skilled artisans; an unpublished letter of Elizabeth, dated May 18, 1567,¹¹ mentions English artisans gone to Russia, and in a letter, dated September 16 of the same year, the czar asks the queen to send him "an architect able to build castles, towers and palaces, a doctor, an apothecary, and other artificers, such as can seek for gold and silver".¹²

But all these needs did not occupy the first place in the considerations of the czar. The commercial privileges, which he so easily and so generously poured out upon the company, always had political

⁸ Tolstoi, *op cit.*, nos. 5 and 6.

⁹ For example in a letter of July 26, 1573, in which she recommends William Merrick; MSS. of Hamel, v. 33.

¹⁰ See a letter of October 27, 1573, printed by Hamel, p. 108, and a letter of January 23, 1581, printed in a Russian translation in the *Collection of the Historical Society*, XXXVIII. 8.

¹¹ MSS. of Hamel, v. 33, no. 3576.

¹² Tolstoi, no. 11.

motives; these can be closely studied in his secret letters and embassies, sent to England at different times and proposing to the queen a close political alliance, offensive and defensive, between Russia and England.¹³ Elizabeth had to display on such occasions all her diplomatic tact, which had prevented her so many times from being dragged into dangerous enterprises. Her guiding principle had been to encourage and elude at the same time the aspirations of different monarchs; but with the czar her rôle was a difficult one. Patience was unknown to that haughty, proud monarch, who had formed the habit of bending all around him to his iron will. The queen was out of his reach, but the English merchants were in Russia, and this was, he thought, the means to incline Elizabeth to accept his plans. She had shown him in her letters, how much she was interested in the welfare of her company; thanks to his high protection the English merchants had made large profits, but it was in his power to annul the privileges he had given them, and this the queen had to understand and to take into consideration.

In 1569 Elizabeth tried hard to avert the blow from her merchants, to give some satisfaction to her terrible new friend. She accepted a series of articles of a treaty he had elaborated;¹⁴ she agreed that England and Russia should be in perpetual friendship, that the enemies of the czar should become hers.¹⁵ In 1570 she promised by a secret letter,¹⁶ which received the signatures of ten members of the Privy Council, to receive the czar with all his family honorably in England, if he should be obliged by political troubles in Russia to seek shelter abroad.

But the only result of these concessions was to exasperate Ivan the Terrible; he had intended that the treaty should be concluded by both monarchs on the same terms, that both should subscribe identical paragraphs; if he obtained the promise to be received honorably in England, he wished also in his turn to be asked to guarantee his protection to the Queen of England in Russia. Elizabeth tried to explain, that it was impossible for her to suppose a case which could force her to leave England and seek shelter in his empire; the mere mention by her of such a possibility would be an

¹³ It was the famous traveller, Anthony Jenkinson, who, at his return to England, in 1567, had been charged by the czar to bring a letter concerning this alliance (dated September, 1567; Tolstoi, no. 12).

¹⁴ She had chosen as her ambassador for this occasion Sir Thomas Randolph; see Tolstoi, no. 15, "Copy of Instructions for Mr. Randolph sent into Moskovia", June 26, 1568, and Lansd. 10, f. 130, "The great Causes of Offence given to the English Ambassador Thomas Randolph from the Queenes Matie. to th' Emperor of Russia for the time of his beinge there in the yere 1568".

¹⁵ Tolstoi, nos. 21 and 25.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 26, May 18.

offense to the English people; it could not be the desire of "her dear and loving brother" to bring her into danger in her own country.

All this seemed an insult to the czar; in his exasperation he wrote to the queen October 24, 1570, in these terms:

Wee had thought that you had been ruler over your lande and had sought honor to your self and profit to your countrie and therefore wee did pretend those weightie affaires betweene you and us; but now we perceive that there be other men that doe rule, and not men, but bowers and merchaunts, the which seeke not the wealth and honour of our Maiesties, but they seeke there owne profit of marchandize: and you flowe in your maydenlie estate like a maide.¹⁷

Though the tone of this letter was dictated by fierce anger, it is extremely characteristic of the man, the absolute monarch and despot; he despises the reigning woman, the queen who has to reckon with her councillors and a Parliament. In several of her letters Elizabeth had represented her own wishes as though they were enforced on her by Parliament; in 1568 she had given the czar a real lesson in Parliamentary history, explaining at length how Parliament had pronounced on the organization and privileges of the Russia Company; when she refused the demands of the czar, she generally excused herself by alleging the will of her councillors. We know how little heed the Tudors sometimes paid to Parliament, but of course their ideal of absolutism was very different from the ideas of Ivan the Terrible concerning the privileges of an absolute monarch.

The negotiation of a political alliance between Russia and England came to a standstill. The first attempt had proved a failure, and the fact was bitterly felt by the English merchants, their position in Russia losing very much of its privileged character. But, contrary to all probability, the two countries did not come to a rupture; the correspondence between the czar and the queen continued. Elizabeth had succeeded in impressing on Ivan the conviction that, though she did not accept his offer now, she would yield in the future. To the insulting letter of the czar she had answered with much dignity and yet more moderation: "Our ambassador [Jenkinson] will tell you in all truth, that no merchants are governing the estate and our affairs, but we rule ourselves with the honnor befitting a virgin queen appointed by God; and no sovereign, thanks to God, has more obedient subjects."¹⁸ In 1570 large quantities of the English goods had been confiscated and English merchants had been molested. All this was taken into consideration and had an influence

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 28, taken from Cottonian, Nero B. XI.

¹⁸ Tolstoi, no. 31, gives the Latin original and a Russian translation.

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on the queen in her decision to prevent a rupture. In August, 1571, the czar complained of the English merchants' conduct, but recognized that the real cause of their disgrace was the unwillingness of England to enter into an alliance with Russia.¹⁹ In 1572 he notified the queen, that the idea of the alliance had to be given up,²⁰ and, as his personal interest in the commercial relations had never been great, Elizabeth had to make efforts, that the correspondence and the friendship should not be dropped also. Politics were abandoned and the correspondence was led to safer commercial subjects.

Soon after the English had found the new way to Russia, other nations, especially the Dutch²¹ and the French,²² had taken advantage of their discovery and followed them on the new route. This fact might aid in leading the czar to consider, that his grant of privileges to the English company might be unprofitable for Russia, as they might hinder merchants of other countries from coming and trading in the empire. Under these circumstances the task of the queen was a difficult one, but her political tact and her firm resolve to protect the interests of the company mastered all the difficulties. She obtained from the czar for the merchants his protection and the restitution of their confiscated goods. In an unpublished letter, dated October 20, 1572,²³ the queen acknowledged that the czar had done for her merchants everything she could wish, and in 1573 the company made plans to send many ships out to Russia.²⁴

If the czar had given way in this matter, it was because he always secretly hoped for the realization of his plan of alliance with England. In 1574 he made a new effort in that direction. The idea of a political alliance with Russia had at that time found adherents in England. The company, which had experienced the wrath of the czar and its consequences, was eager that a political union between the two countries should take place. The reflection of its desires is to be found in a manuscript, entitled: "Certayn notes made by me Michail Lock,²⁵ the 8th of May, anno 1576, in London, touching the benefit that may growe to England by the traffique of English merchants into Russia through a firme amity

¹⁹ Tolstoi, no. 32.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 35.

²¹ The first vessel of the Dutch came to Lapland in 1565, and to the river Dvina in 1577.

²² On the relations of Russia with France see Delavaud, *Les Français dans le Nord* (1911).

²³ MSS. of Hamel, v. 33, no. 3676.

²⁴ Hamel, *op. cit.*, p. 108; letter of Elizabeth, dated October 27, 1573.

²⁵ At that time he was agent in London for the Muscovy Company; see Hakluyt, III. 197-200.

betwene both the Princes."²⁶ This document gives a detailed account of the commercial position of Russia and the possible profits of the company. The natural commodities of England are most acceptable for the Muscovites; the northern country needs warm woolen clothes, and England, France, and other countries need the Russian raw materials, which the English merchants can export over the new route; this route has the great advantage, that it can be used without interference from the enemies of Russia, Poland, and Denmark. The Persian trade, which the company has opened up through Russia and the Caspian Sea, is of great value to England. The Russian czar is the richest monarch of Europe. When he transported his treasury, he loaded 4000 carriages with the riches of one of his five palaces, and it is natural for him, a brave and militant monarch, to look for the friendship of England. All these reasons make the alliance with Russia thoroughly advisable.

Though always ready to pay attention to the interests of her merchants, Elizabeth was not inclined to be forced by them into an alliance which she found it necessary to reject for political reasons. In January, 1576,²⁷ Ivan had to complain bitterly to the English ambassador, Sylvester, of the queen's unsympathetic conduct toward him; he announced haughtily, that he now no longer needed the friendship of England; he was concluding an alliance with the Emperor Maximilian and would take away from the English company its privileges, to bestow them on German and Venetian merchants. We see very clearly in this case, that commercial interests were subordinated in the mind of the Russian czar to his political plans.

For the six following years, from May 10, 1575,²⁸ to January 23, 1581,²⁹ no exchange of letters between England and Russia has come to our knowledge; but the intercourse between the two countries was not quite abandoned. Sylvester had left Russia in 1576; he was soon sent back with new letters and perhaps new concessions on Elizabeth's part, but the negotiations were interrupted by an unhappy accident. Sylvester was killed in Kolmogori by a stroke of lightning, at the moment when he was trying on a dress of yellow satin, in which he was to present himself before the czar; all his papers were burned. When Ivan the Terrible learned the news it

²⁶ Harleian 541, ff. 165-173. The idea of that project had existed already in 1575, see Harleian 296, ff. 190-194, May 8, 1575.

²⁷ Tolstoi, no. 40.

²⁸ MSS. of Hamel, t. 33, no. 3690; letter of Queen Elizabeth to Czar Ivan.

²⁹ *Coll. of the Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII. 8 and *Collection of State Charters and Treaties* (*Sobranie Gosudarstvennikh Gramot i Dogovorov*), t. V., no. 134; letter of Elizabeth to Ivan.

struck him with great force; it was God's wish, he said, to interrupt the negotiations, so he let them drop, and during three years nothing was heard of them. The czar was at that time preoccupied by anxieties occasioned by the wars with Sweden and Poland. But in 1580, after several losses in Livonia, he sent to England, "over the mountains", an Englishman, who was at that time living in Russia, Jerome Horsey, to obtain from Elizabeth military supplies. This journey could be undertaken only by a man of courage; it was full of dangers, as the messenger had to pass through the territories of the foes of Russia; the letter to the queen was enclosed in a flask and hidden in the horse's mane. Horsey succeeded and came back next spring with thirteen boats, laden with munitions. This proved the beginning of a new period of friendly relations between the two countries. Elizabeth and Ivan resumed their correspondence.

The last three years of Ivan's reign brought under new consideration the old diplomatic questions, the alliance between the two countries and the provision for the czar's finding a refuge in England. But the years had also forged a new plan in the head of the uneasy Russian monarch; though he had married six times, he was tempted by the idea of a new union with a near relative of the queen; the bride chosen was Lady Mary Hastings. Two Russian ambassadors, Pisemski and Neoudatcha, were sent to see her and treat the matrimonial question,³⁰ and Elizabeth sent out to Russia, as her own ambassador, Sir Jerome Bowes.³¹

This choice has often been severely criticized. It is true that Bowes was impertinent and arrogant, that he had violent controversies not only with the "boyars" and the "diaks", but with the czar himself, who showed in these negotiations a patience which could not be easily expected from his terrible character and despotical mind. But if we consider what were the plans of Elizabeth in the premises, we shall not find Bowes unsuited to carrying them out. The queen, who had for so many years evaded political alliance with Russia, was not eager to give satisfaction to the new matrimonial plan of Ivan. But, in consideration of her merchants' interests, she could not repulse him; her position was very delicate and sincere conduct seemed impossible. Bowes's character made him valuable to her. He had a courage that did not shrink from refusing certain demands, even when they came from the czar

³⁰ Letter of the czar to the queen, dated May, 1582; Tolstoi, no. 41; and instructions of the czar to his ambassadors, *ibid.*, no. 42; for the history of this embassy see *Coll. of the Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII. 3-65.

³¹ On the journey of Bowes see Hakluyt, III. 315-330; the instructions given to Bowes, *ibid.*, 308-311, and Tolstoi, nos. 45, 46, 48, and 49; history of this embassy, *Coll. of the Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII. 72-84.

personally; a lie was of no consideration to him and, when it was needed, he could easily promise things which, he knew, would never be fulfilled.³² It is not to be denied, that his conduct made a profound impression on Ivan, who pardoned him his impertinences, admired his courage, and held up his loyalty to the queen as an example to his boyars. Probably, if Ivan had lived longer, Bowes might have obtained what was wanted in England: new privileges for the merchants without a definite engagement for the political alliance and matrimony.

The unexpected death of the czar put the English ambassador in a new and difficult situation. Until his last days Ivan had made friendship with Queen Elizabeth one of the guiding principles of his foreign policy; in a secret letter, brought by Bowes, he mentions the possibility of his making the journey to England. The reasons for this marked sympathy of the Russian czar towards England have been discussed many times. We think that the first and principal of them was the desire of this remarkable monarch, who in this respect was continuing the policy of his predecessors, to bring Russia into contact with civilized Europe. The astonishing activity of the English in Russia attracted the attention of the czar Ivan, who was looking for a powerful alliance to help him against his numerous enemies, and for a firm friendship to give him protection in case of possible troubles and treason in his own empire. It is impossible to tell whether he had serious reasons to fear an insurrection that would force him to leave his throne, but in any case it is certain that he had seriously counted on the possibility of passing with all his family to England. Undoubtedly Elizabeth could not look forward with pleasure to such an eventuality, which might become the source of new political complications. Did not the Queen of Scotland give trouble enough to her mind? And could not the Czar of Russia remain quietly in his country to protect the trade of the English company? That was all she had ever asked from him, and all his plans of political and matrimonial alliance and voyages to England were unexpected and undesired complications of the Anglo-Russian relations, which she desired to be only commercial, and which the czar tried hard to make political. After the first active step which the English had taken toward discovering Russia and establishing a new trade, they had received in Muscovy so many privileges, the czar had shown himself so eager to continue the intercourse between the two countries, that England felt the necessity of

³² The secret negotiations of Bowes with the czar are printed in the *Northern Archives (Severnii Arkiv)*, t. V., pp. 109-120.

passing from the active to the passive, and of leaving the czar to make propositions, to which the queen gave evasive answers.

But if Ivan was elaborating plans to bind his country to England, his subjects were very far from approving his policy. The English merchants often complained of the animosity of the Russian people against the strangers; the Russian merchants hated these new invaders of their trade. At the Russian court many of the boyars regarded the sympathy and mildness of their terrible sovereign toward the English ambassadors as an offense to his own entourage, who had to tremble before him. Some of them protected the Dutch, who, as the English said, paid generously for that protection. The plan of the czar to marry an English girl was an offense to Russian patriotism and orthodoxy; his kindness toward the impertinent English ambassador, Bowes, irritated the court.

At his death all this accumulated hostility against the English and their ambassador found opportunity to display itself. The situation of Bowes became very uncertain and delicate and his natural arrogance put him into serious danger. He was confined to his house, and the hostility against him was so great, that for a time he was obliged to fear for his life. But, as the moderate party gained the upper hand at the court, he was liberated and sent back. He even received letters for the queen, but they were very insufficient; the new privileges, for which he had negotiated, were denied him. During his journey to the north coast he had to suffer ill treatment and, so he asserts, narrowly escaped murder. His arrogant character was not well fitted to support such calamities, which had never yet been the share of an English ambassador in Russia. He lost his temper and, once out of danger on the English ship, longed for vengeance, for a mode of offense against the country that had defeated all his plans. All he could do was to send back secretly the insufficient letters and presents; they were deposited on the shore, and before the Russians could protest, the ship with the English ambassador left the Russian waters.

Thus, the Anglo-Russian relations had become unsatisfactory at the beginning of the new Russian reign; each party had seriously offended the other, and an aggravation of this bad situation might easily be feared. But, happily for both countries, and especially for the English merchants, this misunderstanding had no fatal consequences; at the Russian court the influence of a more moderate mind was soon felt, and England was eager to profit by the circumstance.

A new correspondence began between Elizabeth and the young czar, Feodor Ivanovitch. After 1586 the regent Boris Godounov,

who was in reality the ruler of Russia during that reign, entered also into correspondence with the Queen of England.³³ He had been victor over the conservative and nationalist party, and posed as a protector of the English in Russia. The correspondence between the two courts at that period becomes more regular. If the correspondents no longer speak of exclusive and external friendship, they compensate this cooler mood by leaving out offenses and threats. The English merchants could quietly live in Russia under the reign of Feodor, and had not to fear constantly the abolition of their privileges and the confiscation of their goods. The new czar had completely abandoned the plans of his father as to establishing a political alliance with England, and both correspondents remained on the safer ground of commercial interests. Their letters became sometimes extremely long, and give rich materials for the history of the Muscovy Company and its interests in Russia at the end of the sixteenth century.³⁴ Great abuses had found place among the English. The servants and apprentices ruined the society by their exaggerated expenses. The governors complained that they wore silk and velvet clothes, built houses, bought horses and dogs, while their masters in England lived simply and honestly.³⁵ Life in Russia was considered to have a most demoralizing effect on the young factors. One of them wrote to Walsingham from Russia, February 8, 1586, telling him, that he remembered the good counsel the secretary had given him before his departure to far Russia, to keep his good name for honesty, and declaring that Russia had not corrupted him.³⁶

Even the agents themselves were not irreproachable. Tempted

³³ The first letter of Elizabeth to Godounov is dated March 24, 1586; it is to be found only in a Russian translation; *Coll. of the Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII. 173. The first letter of Godounov to Elizabeth is dated June, 1587; *ibid.*, p. 184.

³⁴ The company had always been interested in the establishment of a peaceful intercourse between the two countries, and many letters were written at different times by its members to influence the English court in that direction; see *State Papers, Russia, I.*, ff. 44, 187, etc. Sometimes they addressed Godounov personally; *Lansd.* 53, no. 19.

³⁵ *Nero B. XI.*, ff. 321-328, §§ 32-36; letter dated September 18, 1565; see also a letter of Bowes, complaining of the bad conduct of his servant, George Roper, in *State Papers, Russia, I.*, "Sir Jerome Bowes Information against George Roper".

³⁶ *State Papers, Russia, I.*, f. 8. "I moste humblye take my leave givinge you thanks for your good counsell, given me at Richmounde in your lodginge afore my commynge out of Englande, and was that I shold looke to my seife, to mayntayne and keepe that good name of honestie which it pleased you to saye that I then had: what was more spoken by your Honor of the soyle of Russia, and by Mr. Raphe Bowes [Ralph Bowes, brother of Jerome Bowes] of the soyle of Westminster I do well remember, and do assure your Honor that (God continewinge his grace toward me, without the which the moste strongest must need fawlt) Russia shall not corrupt me, nether one waye nor other; it hath not increased me in welthe, it shall not decrease me in my good name."

by interlopers, they entered into illegal enterprises and, neglecting the interests of their masters, traded for themselves. Horsey, who had come again to Russia as ambassador, pursued there a deplorable line of conduct and protected unfaithful servants and interlopers. As an example of their doings we may mention the affair of Marsh. Thomas Marsh had served the company during its expeditions to Persia, but profiting by his friendship with Horsey, he played it false and contracted in its name personal debts to the amount of 23,000 roubles. In 1587 Elizabeth wrote to Feodor³⁷ to warn him against giving confidence to Marsh, and in July of the same year the czar complained in his letter to the queen of the bad conduct and abuses of that English merchant.³⁸ This affair of Marsh was discussed in many letters,³⁹ and the company had finally to suffer considerable losses through his treacherous conduct.

In a letter of January 15, 1589,⁴⁰ Elizabeth tried to put an end to such abuses and to protect the company against the consequences of fraudulent conduct on the part of its dishonest servants; she asked the czar that all confidence should be refused to Englishmen who could not prove membership in the company by presenting recommendations from the agent. But the czar on the contrary was inclined to establish liberty of trade for all alien merchants in his dominions; he and his regent asked the queen in their letters to abrogate all restrictions for English merchants who wished to trade in Russia. In 1589 the czar wrote:

Dear sister, queen Elizabeth, you ought to give access to our empire to all men of your country, allowing them free commerce. . . . There is no such rule in any kingdom, that some merchants should have the liberty to trade, and others should be deprived of it; and if you continue in this course your love for Our Majesty, dear sister, will not be perfect.⁴¹

The same idea is expressed in the letter of the regent:

Your Majesty, mighty Queen, in your letter you announce to me an imperfect affection toward my czar, His Imperial Majesty, in that you write, that some of the merchants your subjects may come for trade into the realm of our Lord, and others are not to come.⁴²

The guiding principle of Godounov's policy had been to open the doors of Russia to the merchants of all countries and to stimulate competition among them; though posing as the friend of the English,

³⁷ *Coll. of the Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII. 186, Russian translation.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

³⁹ June, 1588; *ibid.*, p. 197; January 15, 1589; Tolstoi, nos. 63 and 64; March 23, 1589; *ibid.*, no. 65.

⁴⁰ Moscow, English Letters, no. 8.

⁴¹ Tolstoi, no. 68, April, 1589.

⁴² *Ibid.*, no. 69, July, 1589.

he was in reality the protector of all the strangers who had the energy to profit by the new commercial route.⁴³ The Dutch and the French had been the first after the English to take that advantage. In a letter of January 15, 1589, Elizabeth bitterly complained, that the Dutch established in Russia had been the cause of many grievances and losses to her merchants. But she felt the impossibility of stopping the current of progress in Russia, the influx of other nations into the country; it was impossible to hope for the conditions which had existed thirty years before, when the English merchants were the sole masters of the Russian market. So the queen had to consent, by reason of her great love to the czar, so she assured him, to suffer the competition of strangers, the English merchants meanwhile retaining the advantage of exemption from the payment of customs.

At this time a new English ambassador, Fletcher, had been very ill received in Russia,⁴⁴ and the relations between the two countries had to pass again into a period of troubles. On April 1, 1590, the queen complained bitterly to the czar of great offenses, which her merchants endured in silence since the death of his father, and warned him, that this patience could not last any longer.⁴⁵ In August she sent him a new letter, in which she described all the grievances of the company and summed up all the losses which it had experienced by the fault of Russia; for the reign of Ivan this sum was, she declared, 60,000 roubles, approximately equivalent to the considerable sum of 4,000,000 roubles of our days, or two million dollars.⁴⁶

We see that, if in the reign of Ivan the intercourse between the two nations had been endangered only by politics, in the reign of Feodor commercial controversies had the same effect. Of course the English queen had reasons for complaint, but the Russian czar also had his well-founded grievances, which he enumerated in his letter of July, 1591.⁴⁷ Horsey had been sent back to Russia, though the Russian court had complained to England of his bad conduct; the title of the czar had been abbreviated in the last letters; and many other offenses had been committed. On January 14, 1592, Elizabeth sent an excuse for these oversights,⁴⁸ and the conciliatory disposi-

⁴³ On the political ideas of Godounov see I. Lubimenko, "Boris Godounov", *Revue du Mois*, t. VII., February 10, 1909.

⁴⁴ On the embassy of Fletcher see *Vremennik* of the Imperial Historical Society of Moscow (*Vremennik Imperatorskago Moskovskago Obchestva Istorii i Drevnostey Rossiiskikh*, "Postatenii Spisok Fletchera"), t. VIII.

⁴⁵ Tolstoi, no. 70.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 73.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 74.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 76.

tion of Godounov helped to smooth the way to reconciliation.⁴⁹ The company was freed from a part of Marsh's debts, the privileges which had been given in 1586 were renewed. The queen on May 20, 1597, addressed her thanks to the czar⁵⁰ and his regent:⁵¹

The next letter of Elizabeth, written January 18, 1598, was received by the new czar Boris.⁵² Feodor had died and Godounov, who was the brother of his wife, had taken the throne. The young brother of Feodor, Dimitry, had died as a child; and, though some years later Godounov had to encounter the accusation of complicity in the murder of the young prince, at the time of Feodor's death his administrative ability marked him as the best candidate for the throne of Russia. So the regent Godounov became the czar Boris; the "friend of the English" received the whole power to prove to them the value of his friendship. Yet their position in Russia remained unchanged; the charter of privileges which the new czar delivered to them in 1598⁵³ repeated in all principal points that of 1586.⁵⁴ The trade with Persia, which had proved so lucrative to the company under the reign of Ivan, had not been authorized under the reign of Feodor and remained prohibited now; merchants of other nations continued to trade in Russia. Elizabeth had written, on May 29, 1598, a letter of condolence,⁵⁵ and on June 24, 1599, a letter of congratulation⁵⁶ to the new czar Boris, and the correspondence between the two monarchs took its natural course. But the queen had more and more to reckon with the new position of Russia. The czars were entering into relations with other monarchs. The emperor and the pope accused the Queen of England at the Russian court of helping the Poles and the Turks; Czar Boris wrote to her, expressing his astonishment at this news; Elizabeth in her answer denied it.⁵⁷

Many letters which were exchanged between the Russian and English courts at that time have not been published. We find

⁴⁹ *Tolstoi*, no. 77.

⁵⁰ *Coll. of the Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII. 246.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 247; see also an unpublished letter in the Public Record Office, State Papers, Russia, I. (September 1, 1597).

⁵² *Coll. of the Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII. 254.

⁵³ The Russian original of this document has been lost; English translation in the Public Record Office, State Papers, Russia, I., ff. 60-67; published by I. Lubimenko, *History of the Commercial Relations of Russia with England*, I. 164-170.

⁵⁴ Published in Russia, *Coll. of the Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII. 176-179; English translation in State Papers, Russia, I.

⁵⁵ *Coll. of the Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII. 260.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁵⁷ St. P., Russia, I., ff. 56-58; *Coll. of the Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII. 274, and English Letters (Moscow), no. 16.

originals of Elizabeth's letters in the records of Moscow, for example a letter of May 16, 1601,⁵⁸ in which she gives high praise to the Russian ambassador, Mikoulin;⁵⁹ he had been in England during the insurrection of the Earl of Essex and had shown himself ready to protect the English queen at the peril of his own life.⁶⁰ Unpublished letters of Czar Boris are to be found in the records of England: in Oxford, the original of a letter, dated June, 1602,⁶¹ and in London at the Public Record Office and British Museum, a letter dated April, 1603.⁶²

The regulation of the commercial relations had proved successful in the precedent reign, and the two correspondents now came back to politics, which had been abandoned for many years. The possibility of matrimonial alliances for the two children of the czar, a son and a daughter, with English princes was considered. With that question in mind the queen gave secret instructions to her ambassadors, Richard Lea in 1600⁶³ and John Merrick in 1601.⁶⁴

The English merchants tried to influence the queen to propose to the czar English matches for his children.⁶⁵ They feared that a marriage between the young Russian princes and certain Danish or Polish princes would give advantage to merchants of these nations and ruin the English trade in Russia. If the queen was not disposed to ally herself with the czar, she could choose for his children remote relatives, and if they were not of convenient age, they could readily be refused; but at least the czar would see that the queen was ready to meet his wishes. If England was not eager to bind herself to Russia, it was not sound diplomacy to show it to the Russian monarch, who could be easily contented by the display of a pretended desire for closer friendship.⁶⁶

The matrimonial project of Boris had no consequences. Elizabeth died shortly after these negotiations, and the czar followed her three years later, leaving his young children unmarried and unprotected.

The close relations of England with Russia in the sixteenth century led to no visible historical results; but the activity of the English merchants in Russia had its consequences. They had ren-

⁵⁸ English Letters, no. 18.

⁵⁹ On this embassy see *Coll. of the Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII. 278-315.

⁶⁰ See also English Letters, no. 17.

⁶¹ Ashmolean, 1763, no. 1538.

⁶² St. P., Russia, I., and Nero B. XI.

⁶³ For materials concerning this embassy, see *Coll. of the Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII. 315-419.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 419-431.

⁶⁵ St. P., Russia, I., f. 93.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 113.

dered a great service to Russia, providing the young country at the period of its political expansion and social development with arms, skilled artisans, and useful goods. Their initiative showed to the other nations the new free route to the empire of the czars. Their agents and servants who established themselves in Muscovy gave to the uncivilized Muscovites valuable examples of active labor and civilized conditions of life.

The Russian court had its share of the English influence. We have seen how much the English had been esteemed by Ivan the Terrible, how highly he praised their courage and their loyalty. Boris Godounov was fond of passing long days at his country-house near Moscow in the society of English physicians, and they surely had an influence on his mind, on his ardent desire to civilize the great empire. If he could not fulfil as a czar all he had planned in that direction as a regent, it was because he had to fight against the stubborn opposition of the nationalistic nobility and the orthodox clergy. But the spirit which had enlightened him was not extinguished with his death; it smouldered at the Russian court during the seventeenth century and reappeared with all brightness and force in the vast reforms of the most remarkable czar of Russia—Peter the Great.

INNA LUBIMENKO.

A JAMAICA SLAVE PLANTATION

WHEN Lord Chesterfield endeavored in 1767 to buy his son a seat in Parliament, he learned "that there was no such thing as a borough to be had now, for that the rich East and West Indians had secured them all at the rate of three thousand pounds at least". The nabobs from the Antilles were rivalling those from India in their display. The sugar islands were the most cherished of the imperial possessions, and the sugar estates were the greatest and most famous industrial enterprises in the world. Bulky descriptions of the West Indian régime, of an excellence never attained by the accounts of the continental colonies, found sale in large editions, and few were the moneyed men of England who felt no stir at the rumors of Jamaica planters' profits. But Jamaica's heyday was already waning, for her soils were becoming depleted and sugar prices had fallen. Of the three chief writers on Jamaica in the later eighteenth century, Long, Edwards, and Beckford, the two last illustrated in their own lives the extremes of planters' fortunes. Edwards was one of the nabobs who sat in the British House of Commons, but Beckford wrote his *Descriptive Account of Jamaica* in the Fleet prison where he lay in 1790, an insolvent debtor at the end of a planting career. These general works have left little to be desired except the intimate details which might be drawn only from the routine working of individual plantations. Records of this kind are of course exceedingly few; but we are not wholly bereft.

Rose Price, Esquire, was the manager of Worthy Park plantation and its outlying properties in St. John's parish, Jamaica, belonging to "Robert Price of Penzance in the Kingdom of Great Britain Esquire"; and Rose Price had an eye to the edification of posterity. Seeing that "the Books of Estates are the only Records by which future Generations can inform themselves of the management of Plantations", he set down directions in detail for the making and preservation of elaborate accounts of current operations. The special books for the sugar mill, the rum distillery, the commissary, and the field-labor routine, which he ordered kept, have apparently been lost; but the "great plantation book" for the years from 1792 to 1796 inclusive has survived and come to my hands. This comprises yearly inventories, records of the increase and decrease of slaves and draught animals, vestry returns, salary lists, vouchers,

crop summaries, and accounts of the receipt and distribution of implements, clothing, food-stuffs, and other supplies.¹

This plantation, which in its organization and experience appears to have been fully typical of the estates of the largest scale, lay near the centre of the island, perhaps twenty miles from the sea, on the rugged southern slope of the mountain chain. One of its dependencies was Spring Garden "cattle pen", lying higher on a near-by mountainside and serving as a place of recuperation for slaves and cattle as well as yielding a few oxen and some food-stuffs for the plantation. The other was Mickleton, presumably a farmstead used as a relay station for the teams hauling sugar and rum to Port Henderson, where they were embarked for Kingston on the way to market at London. The plantation itself probably contained several thousand acres, of which about 560 were in sugar-cane, several score in guinea-grass for grazing, and a few in plantain and cocoa groves, while the rest was in woodland with occasional clearings where the negro families cultivated their own food crops in their hours of release from gang labor.

A cane field was not ripe for its first harvest (the "plant cane") until the second winter after its planting. When the stalks were then cut, new shoots ("rattoons") would spring up from the old roots and yield a diminished second crop the next winter, and so on for several years more, the output steadily growing smaller. After the fourth crop, according to the routine on Worthy Park, the field was planted anew. Thus in any year, while 560 acres were in constant cultivation, about one-fifth of the fields were freshly planted and four-fifths were harvested.

The slaves on the estate at the beginning of 1792 numbered 355, of whom 150 constituted the main field gangs; thirty-four were artificers and gang foremen; forty were watchmen, gardeners, and cattle tenders; thirteen were in the hospital corps; twenty-two were on the domestic staff; twenty-four girls and boys made up the "grass gang"; thirty-nine were young children; and thirty-three were invalids and superannuated. From the absence of indications that any of these were freshly imported Africans it may be assumed that all were seasoned negroes. The draught animals comprised eighty mules and one hundred and forty oxen. The stock of slaves was

¹ I am not acquainted with the history of this document beyond the fact that it came into my possession through an auction sale in New York a few years ago. The book, which measures twelve by eight inches, contains about five hundred pages of brittle paper, similar in texture to the modern product of wood-pulp, though with a somewhat oily quality. The accounts which fill the volume were made in excellent form. A few of the pages which were ruled into columns are now completely split into strips, however, and a number of others are more or less broken.

not adequate for the full routine of the plantation, for in this year "jobbing gangs" from the outside were employed at a cost of £1832, reckoned probably in Jamaica currency which stood at thirty per cent. discount. The jobbing contracts were recorded at rates from 2s.6d. to 3s. per laborer per day.

During the year the proprietor began to make great additions to his working force, with a view apparently to dispensing with the services of jobbing gangs. In March he bought ten new Africans, five men and five women; and in October ninety more, comprising twenty-five men, twenty-seven women, sixteen boys, sixteen girls, and six children, all new Congoes. In 1793 he added eighty-one more, fifty-one males and thirty females, part Congoes and part Coromantees, and nearly all of them about eighteen to twenty years old.

The advice of experienced planters was entirely opposed to such a proceeding as this. Edward Long, for example, had written:

The introduction of too many recruits at once has sometimes proved fatal to them. It is very evident, that a small number can be much easier and better provided for, lodged, fed, and taken care of, than a multitude. The planter therefore, who buys only eight or ten at a time, will in the end derive more advantage from them, than the planter who buys thirty; for, by the greater leisure and attention in his power to bestow upon them, he will greatly lessen the ordinary chances against their life, and the sooner prepare them for an effectual course of labour. The comparison, indeed, founded upon fact and observation, is, that, at the end of three years, the former may possibly have lost one fifth, but the other will most probably have lost one half, of their respective numbers.²

All of the island authorities who wrote on the subject endorsed these precepts, but the Worthy Park administration was nothing daunted thereby. Thirty new huts were built; special cooks and nurses were detailed for the service of the new negroes; and quantities of special food-stuffs were bought—yams, plantains, flour, fresh and salt fish, and fresh beef heads, tongues, hearts, and bellies; but it is not surprising to find that the next outlay for equipment was for a large new hospital in 1794, costing £341 for building its brick walls alone. The emergency became pressing. Some of the newcomers, as was common in such case, developed yaws, a chronic and contagious African disease of the blood and skin closely akin to syphilis. These had to be lodged in an isolation hospital tended by a special nurse and cook, and worked, when worked at all, in a separate gang under a separate foreman. But yaws was a trifle as compared with dysentery—the "bloody flux" as it was then called. Pleurisy, pneumonia, fever, and dropsy had also to be reckoned with.

² Long, *The History of Jamaica* (London, 1744), II. 435.

About fifty of the new negroes were quartered for several years in a sort of hospital camp at Spring Garden, where the work for even the able-bodied was much lighter than on Worthy Park.

One of the new negroes died in 1792, and another the next year. With the spring of 1794 the period of heavy mortality began. Two pages of the record for this year are broken and partly missing. From the pages and fragments remaining it may be gathered that the total of the year's deaths was fifty-two (thirty-seven males and fifteen females) of which at least thirty-one were new negroes. One of the new women died in child-bed, one of the men died of a brain disorder, one of a paralytic stroke, and two were thought to have killed themselves. Virtually all the other deaths of newcomers were due to dysentery. By 1795 this disease was no longer epidemic. In that year the total of deaths was twenty-three, including at least five new negroes, two of these dying from dirt-eating,³ one from yaws, and two from ulcers. The three years of the seasoning period were now ended, with about three-fourths of the number imported still alive. This loss was perhaps less than was usual in such cases; but it demonstrates the strength of shock involved in the transplantation from Africa, even after the severities of the "middle passage" had been survived, and after the most debilitated negroes had been culled out at the ports. In 1796 the new negroes were no longer discriminated in the mortality record. The total of deaths for the year was twenty-three, of which eight were from old age and decline, seven from dropsy, two each from fever, dysentery, and poison, one from consumption, and one from yaws. The outlay for jobbing gangs declined to £1374 in 1793 and to £506 in 1794. It rose to £632 in 1795, but disappeared in the final year of the record.

³ Of the "fatal habit of eating dirt", Thomas Roughley, who on his title-page described himself as "nearly twenty years a sugar planter in Jamaica", wrote in his *Planter's Guide* (London, 1823, pp. 118-120): "Nothing is more horribly disgusting, nothing more to be dreaded, nothing exhibiting a more heart-rending, ghastly spectacle, than a negro child possessed of this malady. Such is the craving appetite for this abominable custom that few, either children or adults, can be broken of it when once they begin to taste and swallow its insidious, slow poison. For if by incessant care, watchfulness, or keeping them about the dwelling house, giving them abundance of the best nourishing food, stomachic medicines, and kind treatment, it is possible to counteract the effects and habit of it for some time, the creature will be found wistfully and irresistibly to steal an opportunity of procuring and swallowing the deadly substance. The symptoms arising from it are a shortness of breathing, almost perpetual languor, irregular throbbing, weak pulse, a horrid cadaverous aspect, the lips and whites of the eyes a deadly pale (the sure signs of malady in the negro), the tongue thickly covered with scurf, violent palpitation of the heart, inordinate swelled belly, the legs and arms reduced in size and muscle, the whole appearance of the body becomes a dirty yellow, the flesh a quivering, pellucid jelly. The creature sinks into total indifference, insensible to everything around it, till death at last declares his victory in its dissolution."

The list of slaves made at the beginning of 1794 is the only one in which full data are preserved as to ages, colors, health, and occupations. The ages given were of course in many cases mere approximations. The "great house negroes" head the list, fourteen in number. Four of these were "housekeepers", of whom two were forty-year-old women of "sambo" color, *i. e.*, between mulatto and black, and the other two were mulatto girls of nineteen and eight years. There were three waiting boys, twenty, nineteen, and ten years old, one of them black and two mulatto. Susannah, black, fifty-five years old, and Joanny, sambo, twenty-six, were washerwomen; Penzance, black, fifty, was the cook; Spain, forty-five but not able-bodied, and Old Lucy, sixty, both black, were gardeners; and Old Tom, black, fifty, had the task of carrying grass. Quadroon Lizette, who had been hired out for several years to Peter Douglas, the owner of a jobbing gang, was manumitted during this year.

The slaves listed at the overseer's house, forty-two in number, included domestic servants, the hospital corps, and a group in industrial pursuits. Fanny, twenty-seven, mulatto, Harodine, twenty-four, sambo, and Sychie, black, sixty, who was troubled with the bone ache, were housekeepers; Peggy and Sally, mulatto girls of thirteen and fourteen, were "simstresses"; Jenny, forty-one, black, and Nancy, nineteen, mulatto, were washerwomen; Esther, thirty-five, black, was cook; and Harry, twenty-one, John, fifteen, and Richmond, fourteen, all black, were waiting boys. In the nursing and industrial groups all were black except one mulatto boy of ten years, a hog tender. Will Morris, the "black doctor", headed the hospital corps; Henrietta, sixty, was midwife; Dolly, thirty-six, and Sally, twenty-eight, were hospital nurses; Douglas, sixty, Grace, sixty, Emma, forty-five, and Blind Olive, thirty, tended the new negroes; Cimbrie, sixty-five, Old Molly, sixty, and Old Beneba were in charge of young children; and Old Sylvia, sixty, was field nurse for the suckling children of the women in the gangs. Abba, forty, who had lost a hand, and Flora were cooks to the "big gang", and Bessey, forty, cook to the second gang. Prince, thirty-five, who had elephantiasis, was a groom; Yellow's Cuba and Peg's Nancy, both sixty, had charge of the poultry house; Dontcare, forty, and Solomon, twenty-three, the one ruptured and the other "distempered", were hog tenders, along with Robert the mulatto boy above mentioned; Quashy Prapra and Abba's Moll, sixty-five and sixty, mended pads; and Quamina, forty, and six others, sixty to sixty-five, gathered grass and hog feed.

Next are listed the watchmen, thirty-one in number, ranging from twenty-seven to seventy-five years in age, and all black but the

mulatto foreman. Only six were described as able-bodied. Among the disabilities mentioned were a bad sore leg, a broken back, lameness, partial blindness, distemper, weakness, and cocobeas. The number in this night-watch was apparently not unusual. When the cane crop was green it might be severely damaged by the invasion of hungry cattle, and when it approached maturity a spark might set the fields into conflagration. A law of Barbados, in precaution against fire, prohibited the smoking of tobacco on paths bordering cane-fields.

A considerable number of the negroes already mentioned were in such condition that little work could be required of them. Those completely laid off were nine superannuated, two men and seven women ranging from seventy to eighty-five years old; four invalids, fourteen to thirty-five years old; and three women relieved of work, as by law required, for having reared six children each.

Among the tradesmen, virtually all the blacks were stated to be fit for field work, but the five mulattoes and the one quadroon, though mostly youthful and healthy, were described as not fit for the field. There were eleven carpenters, eight coopers, four sawyers, two blacksmiths, three masons, and twelve cattlemen, each squad with a foreman; and there were two ratcatchers. The tradesmen were all in early manhood or middle age except Old Quashy, the head carpenter, Old England, a sawyer, and Poole, Teckford, and Boot Cudjoe, cattlemen, who were from sixty to sixty-five, and Reeves and Little Sam, cattle boys, of fifteen and fourteen years.

The two ratcatchers followed an essential trade. Beckford wrote in his account of sugar-cane culture:

The rats are very great enemies to this plant, but particularly in proportion to its advance to ripeness. It will hardly be credited how very numerous these reptiles are in the Island of Jamaica, and what destruction, especially if the canes be lodged [*i. e.*, fallen to the ground], they annually commit upon a plantation: in a not less proportion do they injure the crops than a diminution of five hogsheads of sugar in every hundred, without adding much in proportion, by those that are tainted, to the increase of rum. Many and unremitting endeavours are daily put in practice for their extirpation. . . . Great numbers are taken off by poison immediately after the crop, and when their natural food is apparently exhausted; many are killed by dogs; and prodigious quantities destroyed by the negroes in the fields, when the canes are cut; and such innumerable proportions by the watchmen who are dispersed over the different parts of the plantation, to protect them from general trespass, and the particular destruction of these animals, that I was informed by a man of observation and veracity, that upon the estate of which, as overseer, he had charge, not less than nine and thirty thousand were caught by the latter, and, if I remember right, in the short space of five or six months.*

* Beckford, *A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica* (London, 1790), I. 55, 56.

In the "weeding gang", a sort of industrial kindergarten in which most of the children from five to eight years old were kept, as much for control as for achievement, there were twenty pick-aninnies, all black, under Mirtilla as "driveress", who had borne and lost seven children of her own. Thirty-nine children were too young for the weeding gang, at least six of whom were quadroons. Two of these children, Joanne's Henry Richards, quadroon, and Joanne's Valentina, whose color is not stated, were manumitted in 1795.

Fifty-five, all new negroes except Darby the foreman, and including Blossom the infant daughter of one of the women, comprised the Spring Garden squad. Nearly all of these were twenty or twenty-one years old. The men included Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Burke, Fox, Milton, Spencer, Hume, and Sheridan; the women, Spring, Summer, July, Bashfull, Virtue, Frolic, Gamesome, Lady, Madame, Dutchess, Mirtle, and Cowslip. Seventeen of the number died within the year.

The "big gang" on Worthy Park numbered 137, comprising sixty-four men from nineteen to sixty years old and seventy-three women of from nineteen to fifty years, though but four of the women and nine of the men, including Quashy, sixty, the "head driver" or foreman, were past forty years. The gang included Douglas Cuffee, forty, "head home wainman", May, twenty-three, "head road wainman" and ploughman, McGregor, forty, head muleman, McPherson, forty, McAllister, forty, and France, twenty-five, distillers, Tim's Cubena, forty, boiler, McDonald and McKein, each forty-five, sugar potters, and Raphael and Forest, each twenty-five, "sugar guards" for the wagons carrying the crop to port. All members of the gang were described as healthy, able-bodied, and black. It was this battalion of the stalwart, armed with hoes and "bills" (sugar knives), whose work would "make or break" the proprietor. A considerable number in the gang were new negroes, but only seven of the whole died in this year of heaviest mortality.

The "second gang", employed in a somewhat lighter routine under Sharper, fifty, as foreman, comprised forty women, and twenty-seven men ranging from fifteen to sixty years old, all black. While most of them were healthy, five were consumptive, four were ulcerated, one was "inclined to be bloated", one was "very weak", and Pheba was "healthy but worthless". Eleven of this gang died within the year.

Finally, in the third or "small gang", for yet lighter work under Baddy as driveress with Old Robin, sixty, as assistant, were listed sixty-eight boys and girls, all black, mostly between twelve and

fifteen years old, but including Mutton, eighteen, and Cyrus, six. Cyrus and the few others below the normal age may have been allowed to join this gang for the companionship of brothers or sisters, or some of them may have been among Baddy's own four children. Five of the gang died within the year.

Among the 528 slaves all told—284 males and 244 females—seventy-four, equally divided between the sexes, were fifty years old and upwards. If the number of the new negroes, virtually all of whom were doubtless in early life, be subtracted from the gross, it appears that one-fifth of the seasoned stock had reached the half century, and one-eighth were sixty years old and over. This is a good showing of longevity.

About eighty of the seasoned women were within the age limits of childbearing. The births entered in the chronological record averaged nine per year for the five years covered. This was hardly half as many as might have been expected under favorable conditions. Rose Price entered special note in 1795 of the number of children each woman had borne during her life, the number of these living at the time this record was made, and the number of miscarriages each woman had had. The total of births thus recorded was 345; of children then living 159; of miscarriages seventy-five. Old Quasheba and Betty Madge each had borne fifteen children; and sixteen other women had borne from six to eleven each. On the other hand, seventeen women of thirty years and upwards had had no children and no miscarriages. It cannot be said whether or not these barren women had husbands, for matings were listed in the record only in connection with the births of children.

The childbearing records of the women past middle age ran higher than those of the younger ones, to a somewhat surprising degree. Perhaps conditions on Worthy Park had been more favorable at an earlier period, when the owner and his family may possibly have been resident there. The fact that more than half of the children whom these women had borne were dead at the time of the record comports with the reputation of the sugar colonies for heavy infant mortality.⁵ With births so infrequent and infant deaths so many it may well appear that the notorious failure of the island-bred stock to maintain its own numbers was not due to the working of the slaves to death.

⁵ Sir Warner Bryan, attorney-general of Grenada, said, "It is generally remarked that $\frac{1}{2}$ the children die under 2 years, and most of that $\frac{1}{2}$ the first 9 days, from the jaw-fall." *Abridgment of the Minutes of Evidence taken before a Committee of the Whole House [on] the Slave Trade, No. 2.* (London, 1790), p. 48. Mr. John Castle, long a surgeon in Grenada, testified before the same committee that generally one-third of the negro children died in the first month of their lives, and that few of the imported women bore children. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

The poor care of the young children may be attributed largely to the absence of a white mistress, an absence characteristic of the Jamaica plantations. The only white woman mentioned in the parish returns of this estate was Susannah Phelps, doubtless the wife of Edward Phelps who drew no salary but received a yearly food allowance "for saving deficiency", and who probably lived not on Worthy Park but at Mickleton.

In addition to Rose Price, who was not salaried but who may have received a manager's commission of six per cent. upon gross crop sales as contemplated in the laws of the colony, the administrative staff of white men on Worthy Park comprised an overseer at £200, later £300 a year, and four bookkeepers at £50 to £60. There was also a white carpenter at £120, and a white ploughman at £56. The overseer was changed three times during the time of the record, and the bookkeepers were generally replaced annually. The bachelor staff were most probably responsible for the mulatto and quadroon offspring and were doubtless responsible also for the occasional manumission of women and children. In 1795 and perhaps in other years the plantation had a contract for medical attendance by "J. Quier and G. Clark" at the rate of £140 per year.

There is no true summer and winter in Jamaica, but a wet and a dry season instead—the former extending generally from May to November, the latter from December to April. The sugar-cane got its growth during the rains; it ripened and was harvested during the drought. If things went well the harvest, or "grinding", began in January. All available hands were provided with bills and sent to the fields to cut the stalks and trim off their leaves and tops. The tainted canes were laid aside for the distillery; the sound ones were sent at once to the mill. On the steepest hillsides the crop had oftentimes to be carried on the heads of the negroes or on the backs of mules to points which the carts could reach.

The mill consisted merely of three cylinders, two of them set against the third, turned by wind, water, or cattle. The canes, tied into small bundles for better compression, were given a double squeezing while passing through the mill. The juice expressed found its way through a trough into the "boiling house" while the "mill trash" or "megass"^a was carted off to sheds and left to dry for later use as fuel under the coppers and stills.

In the boiling house the cane-juice flowed first into a large receptacle, the clarifier, where by treatment with lime and moderate heat it was separated from its grosser impurities. The juice then passed into the first copper, where evaporation by boiling began. This

^a In Louisiana this is called "bagasse".

vessel on Worthy Park was of such a size that in 1795 one of the negroes fell in while it was full of boiling liquor and died ten days after his scalding. After further evaporation in smaller coppers the juice, now reduced to a syrup, was ladled into a final copper, the teache, for a last boiling and concentration; and when the product of the teache was ready for crystallization it was carried to the "curing house".

The mill, unless it were a most exceptional one for the time, expressed barely two-thirds of the juice from the canes; the clarifier was not supplemented by filters; the coppers were wasteful of labor and fuel. But if the apparatus and processes thus far were crude by comparison with modern standards, the curing process was primitive by any standard whatever. The curing-house was merely a roof above, a timber framework on the main level, and a great shallow sloping vat at the bottom. The syrup from the teache was potted directly into hogsheads resting on the timbers, and was allowed to cool with too great rapidity and with occasional stirrings which are said by modern critics to have hindered more than they helped the crystallization. Most of the sugar stayed in the hogsheads, while the mother liquor, molasses, still carrying some of the sugar, trickled through perforations in the hogshead bottoms into the vat below. When the hogsheads were full of the crudely cured, moist, and impure "muscovado" sugar they were headed up and sent to port. The molasses was carried to vats in the distillery where with yeast and water added it fermented and when passed twice through the distilling process yielded rum.⁷

The grinding season, extending from January to spring or summer according to the speed of harvesting, was the time of heaviest labor on the plantations. If the rains came before the reaping was ended the work became increasingly severe, particularly for the draught animals, which must haul their loads over the muddy fields and roads. On Worthy Park the grinding was ended in May in some years; in others it extended to July.

As soon as the harvest was ended preparations were begun for replanting the fields from which the crop of third ratoons had just been taken. The chief operation in this was the opening of broad furrows or "cane holes" about six feet apart. Five ploughs were

⁷ This description of mill equipment and methods is drawn from eighteenth-century writings. Slightly improved apparatus introduced in the early nineteenth century was described in Thomas Roughley, *The Jamaica Planter's Guide*. As to sugar-cane cultivation and labor control, the general works already mentioned were supplemented by Clement Caines in his *Letters on the Cultivation of the Otahiete Cane* (London, 1801), and by an anonymous "Professional Planter" in his *Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies* (London, 1803).

mentioned in the Worthy Park inventories, but only three ploughmen were listed, one hired white and two negro slaves. Some of the hillside fields were doubtless too rough for convenient ploughing, and the heat of the climate prevented the use of teams for such heavy work for more than a few hours daily; but the lack of thrift and enterprise was doubtless even more influential. The smallness of the area planted each year demonstrates that the hoe was by far the main reliance. After the cane holes were made and manure spread, four canes were laid side by side continuously in each furrow, and a shallow covering of earth was drawn over them. This completed the planting process.

The holing and the planting occupied the major part of the "big gang" for most of the summer and fall. Meanwhile the wagons were hauling the sugar and rum to port, and the second and third gangs, with occasional assistance from the first, were cleaning the grass and weeds from the fields of growing cane and stripping the dry leaves from the stalks and drawing earth to the roots. With the return of the dry season cordwood must be cut in the mountains and brought to the boiling house to supplement the megass, and the roads and the works must be put in order for the stress of the coming harvest. Then came Christmas when oxen were slaughtered for the negroes and a feast was made and rules relaxed for a week of celebration by Christians and pagans alike.

Rewards for zeal in service were given chiefly to the "drivers" or gang foremen. Each of these had for example a "doubled milled cloth coloured great coat" costing 11s.6d. and a "fine bound hat with girdle and buckle" costing 10s.6d. As a more direct and frequent stimulus a quart of rum was served weekly to each of three drivers, three carpenters, four boilers, two head cattlemen, two head mulemen, the "stoke-hole boatswain", and the black doctor, and to the foremen respectively of the sawyers, coopers, blacksmiths, watchmen, and road wainmen, and a pint weekly to the head home wainman, the potter, the midwife, and the young children's field nurse. These allowances totalled about three hundred gallons yearly. But a considerably greater quantity than this was distributed, mostly at Christmas perhaps, for in 1796 for example 922 gallons were recorded of "rum used for the negroes on the estate". Upon the birth of each child the mother was given a Scotch rug and a silver dollar.

No records of whippings appear to have been kept, nor of crimes or misdemeanors except absconding. In the list of deaths for 1793, however, it was noted that Roman was shot and killed by a watch-

man on a neighboring estate while stealing provisions from the negro grounds.

The runaway slaves who were in hiding at the end of each quarter were usually listed in a quarterly report to the parish authorities. In 1792 none were reported until the end of the year when it was stated that two were out, a man and a woman, the names not given. In March, 1793, these had returned, but Greenwich, May, and Beneba's Cuffee, men, and the woman called Strumpet had run off. The June report for this year is missing. In September, Greenwich, May, and Strumpet had returned, and Boot Cudjoe, Nero, Spring Garden Quaw, Toney, and Abba's Moll had taken flight. In December Toney and Quaw had returned. London and Rumbold, a twelve-year-old boy, had now fled, but they came back within the next quarter. In the early months of 1794 Sam, October, Pilot, and Christian Grace had brief outings, and in the second quarter Ann and Prince; and Cesar and Rhino now added their names to the list of the long-term runaways. In the third quarter Pulteney and Rippon, and in the fourth Dickie, made brief escapes, while Ann made a second and longer flight. Early in 1795 three runaways, veterans in a double sense for each was sixty years old, came back whether willingly or as captives. They were Sam a field hand, Boot Cudjoe a cattleman, and Abba's Moll, whose task was the mending of pads. Fletcher, Billy Scott, and Spring Garden Roger now took flight, and Quaw for a second time. In February Billy Scott, along with Moses and Hester who were attempting escape, were taken up and lodged in a public workhouse and sent back to the estate when claimed, at an expense of £4.11s.4¾d. In May £2.6s.2½d. was paid to the supervisor of the workhouse at Spanish Town as jail fees for Beneba's Cuffee; but his name continued to appear in the plantation list of runaways. Perhaps he promptly departed again. In the second quarter the long-absconding Cesar was also returned, and Spring Garden Tom took flight.

The recaptured absconders were now put into a special "vaga-bond gang" for better surveillance. This comprised Billy Scott, reduced from the capacity of mason and sugar guard; Oxford who as head cooper had enjoyed a weekly quart of rum but had apparently betrayed a special trust; Cesar who had followed the sawyer's trade; and Moll and Rumbold, and the following whose names had not appeared in the quarterly lists: McLean, Green, Bob, Damsel, Polly, and the young boys Little Sam and Mulatto Robert. The gang was so wretchedly assorted for industrial purposes that it was probably not long before it was disbanded and its members distributed to more proper tasks.

In the runaway list for the third quarter of 1795 three new names appear—Frank, Reilly, and Rennals. In November Appea fled, and Toney went upon a second truancy. Toney returned in January, 1796, and left for the third time the next month. About this time Sam, Strumpet, and Prince began second outings, but returned in the spring along with Beneba's Cuffee. Rightwell and Rosey now took short flights, and in November Sam took a third leave which again proved a brief one. In February, 1797, Quadroon Charles ran off, and Rumbold for the second time. At the end of the next month, when the last of the runaway lists in this record was made, these two were still out, along with Nero who had fled in 1793, Fletcher and Appea in 1795, and Toney in 1796. Of these Fletcher was a distempered watchman forty-five years old, and the others were members of the big gang, forty-five, thirty, and sixty years old respectively. Obviously the impulse to run away was not confined to either sex nor to any age or class. The fugitives were utterly miscellaneous and their flights were apparently not organized but sporadic.

These conclusions if extended into a generalization to cover the whole island would appear to be borne out by an analysis of the notices of runaway slaves published by the workhouse officials in the newspapers. Throughout the year 1803, for which I have procured these statistics from a file of the *Royal Gazette* of Kingston,⁸ the number of runaways taken into custody each week was fairly constant; and no group of slaves appears over-represented. Of the grand total of 1721 runaways advertised as in custody, 187 were merely stated to be negroes without further classification, 426 were "creoles", i. e., native Jamaicans; and the neighboring islands had scattering representations. Sixty per cent. (1046) were of African birth. Of these 101 were Mandingoes from Senegambia and the upper Niger; sixty were Chambas from the region since known as Liberia; seventy were Coromantees from the Gold Coast; thirty-three were Nagoes and twenty-four Pawpaws from the Slave Coast (Dahomey); and one hundred and eighty-five were Eboes and ninety-seven Mocoos from the Bight of Benin. All of the foregoing were from regions north of the equator. From the southern tropic there were one hundred and eighty-five Congoes, one hundred and sixty-five Mungolas, and ninety-four Angolas. The remaining thirty were scattering and mostly from places which I have not been able to identify in maps old or new. Only one, a Gaza, was positively from the east coast of Africa.

⁸ A file for 1803 is preserved in the Charleston Library, Charleston, S. C. The tabulation here used was generously made for me by Dr. Charles S. Boucher of the University of Michigan.

The Congoes and Coromantees, the tribal stocks with which Worthy Park was chiefly concerned, were as wide apart in their characteristics as negro nature permitted. The former were noted for lightness of heart, mildness of temper, and dullness of intellect. Of the latter Christopher Codrington, governor of the Leeward Islands, wrote in 1701 to the British Board of Trade:

The Corramantes . . . are not only the best and most faithful of our slaves, but are really all born Heroes. There is a difference between them and all other negroes beyond what 'tis possible for your Lordships to conceive. There never was a raskal or coward of that nation, intrepid to the last degree, not a man of them but will stand to be cut to pieces without a sigh or groan, grateful and obedient to a kind master, but implacably revengeful when ill-treated. My Father, who had studied the genius and temper of all kinds of negroes 45 years with a very nice observation, would say, Noe man deserved a Corramante that would not treat him like a Friend rather than a Slave.⁹

Bryan Edwards endorsed the staunchness and industry of the Coromantees, but attributed to them the plotting of the serious Jamaica revolt of 1760.

A large proportion of the fugitive slaves in custody were described as bearing brands on their breasts or shoulders. It is not surprising to find in a Worthy Park inventory "1 silver mark LP for negroes". Edwards wrote that a friend of his who had bought a parcel of young Ebo and Coromantee boys told him that at the branding,

when the first boy, who happened to be one of the Eboes, and the stoutest of the whole, was led forward to receive the mark, he screamed dreadfully, while his companions of the same nation manifested strong emotions of sympathetic terror. The gentleman stopt his hand; but the Koromantyn boys, laughing aloud, and, immediately coming forward of their own accord, offered their bosoms undauntedly to the brand, and receiving its impression without flinching in the least, snapt their fingers in exultation over the poor Eboes.¹⁰

The prevalence of unusually cruel customs among the tribes of the Gold Coast¹¹ may account in part for the fortitude of the Coromantees.

Worthy Park bought nearly all of its hardware, dry goods, drugs, and sundries in London, and its herrings for the negroes and salt pork and beef for the white staff in Cork. Staves and heading were procured locally, but hoops were imported. Corn was cultivated

⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1701*, pp. 720-721.

¹⁰ Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (Philadelphia, 1806), II. 275, 276.

¹¹ Cf. A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London, 1887), chap. XI.

between the rows in some of the cane fields on the plantation, and some guinea-corn was bought from neighbors. The negroes raised their own yams and other vegetables, and doubtless pigs and poultry as well. Plantains were likely to be plentiful, and the island abounded in edible land crabs.

Every October cloth was issued, at the rate of seven yards of osnaburgs, three of checks, and three of baize for each adult, and proportionately for children. The first was to be made into coats, trousers, and frocks, the second into shirts and waists, the third into bedclothes. The cutting and sewing were done in the cabins. A hat and a cap were also issued to each slave old enough to go to the field, and a clasp-knife to each one above the age of the third gang. The slaves' feet were not pinched by shoes.

The Irish provisions cost annually about £300, and the English supplies about £1000, not including such extra outlays as that of £1355 in 1793 for new stills, worms, and coppers. Local expenditures were probably reckoned in currency. Converted into sterling, the salary list amounted to about £500, and the local outlay for medical services, wharfage, and petty supplies came to a like amount. Taxes, manager's commissions, and the depreciation of apparatus must have amounted collectively to £800. The net death-loss of slaves, not including that from the breaking-in of new negroes, averaged about two and a quarter per cent.; that of the mules and oxen ten per cent. When reckoned upon the numbers on hand in 1796 when the plantation, with 470 slaves, was operating with no outside help, these losses, which must be replaced by new purchases if the scale of output was to be maintained, amounted to about £900. Thus a total of £3000 sterling is reached as the average current expense in years when no mishaps occurred.

The crops during the years of the record averaged 311 hogsheads of sugar, sixteen hundredweight each, worth in the island about £15 sterling per hogshead,¹² and 133 puncheons of rum, 110 gallons each, worth about £10 per puncheon. The value of the average crop was thus about £6000, and the net earnings of the establishment not above £3000. The investment in slaves, mules, and oxen was about £28,000, and that in land, buildings, and equipment, according to the general reckoning of the island authorities, reached a similar sum.¹³ The net earnings in good years were thus barely more than five per

¹² Owing to bad seasons, the crop on Worthy Park in 1796 fell to 268 hogsheads; but the shortness of the crop at large caused an exceptional rise in sugar prices, which kept plantation earnings that year at least as high as the normal.

¹³ In the dearth of original data on Jamaica prices of land, slaves, and produce, I have depended mainly on Bryan Edwards (vol. III., book V., chapter 3), after checking up his figures as far as has been practicable.

cent. on the investment; but the liability to hurricanes, earthquakes, fires, epidemics, and mutinies would lead conservative investors to reckon the safe expectations considerably lower. A mere pestilence which carried off about sixty mules and two hundred oxen on Worthy Park in 1793-1794 wiped out more than a year's earnings.

Bryan Edwards¹⁴ gave statistics showing that between 1772 and 1791 more than one-third of the 767 sugar plantations in Jamaica had gone through bankruptcy, fifty-five had been abandoned, and forty-seven new ones established. It was generally agreed that, within the limits of efficient operation, the larger a plantation was, the better its prospect for net earnings. But though Worthy Park had more than twice the number of slaves that the average plantation employed, it was barely paying its way.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

¹⁴ Edwards, vol. I., book II., appendix 2.

DOCUMENTS

A New Plan to Govern Virginia, 1623

THE great Sackville collection of manuscripts at Knole Park, Sevenoaks, has long been recognized as likely to contain papers of importance relating to the early history of Virginia and the Virginia Company. A very imperfect survey of the manuscripts was made by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in the early years of its activity, but very little was then brought to light and though from time to time a few scattered Virginia papers have been extracted from the collection,¹ no systematic search of the whole collection has been made. It has been shown by Dr. Kingsbury² that papers may have come to Knole from four different sources connected with the Virginia Company and among them from Lionel Cranfield, first earl of Middlesex and Lord High Treasurer of England during the period when the company was dissolved. The papers of Cranfield are in reality by far the most important of the seventeenth-century manuscripts in the collection and it has been in the course of a preliminary investigation preparatory to the calendaring of the Sackville manuscripts for the Historical Manuscripts Commission that the document here printed has come to light. By the courtesy of Lord Sackville and of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, it has been transcribed in full and is here presented as of some interest to the student of early Virginian history or of political speculation in the early seventeenth century.

The document is written in a neat and clerical hand on six sheets of paper fastened together at the top and rolled in an outer cover consisting of a blank parchment form of indenture. The first sheet is written only on one side with a discursive preface of small importance,³ but each of the other sheets is written closely on both sides with explanatory comments in the margin. The earlier part of the document has received emendation here and there in a hand that is much less legible than the rest of the document. It is probable that the document itself is in the hand of its author, for many corrections of phrasing and arrangement occur in this hand throughout. It may be suggested, however, that before presentation it was

¹ E. g., for Dr. Peckard, the author of the *Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar*.

² Susan M. Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, introduction, p. 114.

³ Not printed.

submitted to some person of authority and that the secondary alterations are due to him. The document is undated and does not contain anything within that would enable an exact date to be assigned, but external evidence enables us to place the date of its presentation as somewhere within the latter half of 1623. The order of the Privy Council appointing a commission to enquire into the true state of the Virginia plantation was issued on April 17, 1623, and on May 22 the records of the company were sequestered. On June 23 a draft proposition for resettling the estate of Virginia⁴ was delivered by the Rich faction to the Lord Treasurer and in December Captain Bargrave also presented a proposition. Cranfield's approaching fall from favor was a topic of common conversation from January to April, and during these months there was a lull in the proceedings for the resettling of the government and a dearth of papers touching matters as they stood in England. It may therefore be suggested with a considerable likelihood of truth that the paper was written and presented at some date between June and December, 1623, and that, having been considered by the Lord Treasurer, it was endorsed by one of his secretaries and placed among his papers for future reference. Comment on the plan itself is unnecessary, but attention may be drawn to its complexity and to an impracticability that would be unlikely to commend itself to the extremely practical and mercantile mind of Cranfield. The amateur constitution-mongers of the reign of James I. were evidently as unfamiliar with the practical details of government as was John Locke in his celebrated plan for the government of Carolina.

ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON.

A FORME OF POLISIE TO PLANTE AND GOVERNE MANY FAMILIES IN
VIRGINEA, SOE AS IT SHALL NATURALLY DEPEND ONE THE
SOVERAIGNETYE OF ENGLAND.

(1) This preamble, beinge the difinition of that wee intend to doe and framed to the attaineing of our last end, wee maie terme the contract of this our marriage, whereof I have wrytten a treatise handling everie worde of it, and shewinge that the object (to witt) To plant and governe and the sub-

Whereas wee aswell by our Letters Patentes beareing date at Westminster the 10th daye of April in the 4th yeare of our raigne, as by diverse other Letters Patentes since that time graunted, have given licence unto diverse of our loveing subjectes named in those severall Patentes, to conduce and conduct severall coloneys of our loveing subjectes to abide in America, within 34 and 45 degrees of the equinoctiall, with diverse preheminences, liberties, and authorities as by the sayde Patentes appeareth, And

⁴ P. R. O., Manchester Papers, no. 379.

ject manie families in Virginea, and the end to which the efficient, that is this pattent and authority wee have from the kinge, should bee ordained, which is to cause the plantacion naturally to depend on the sovragnenitie of England. Theis being the esscentiall and formall differences, I hould the worke to bee truelie defyned. Yf then the end bee it that must teach us the meanes to conduce to it, and that the right ordaineinge of the efficient bee the principall meanes to attaine our end, then the question wilbe quicklie descyded whether it bee not better to authorize one sett forme of government both heare and in Virginia framed to the attaineinge of our end, and soe leave the lawes to bee ordained accordinge to that forme, or ells that the adventurours here should give lawes and government by populer voyces to the planters in Virginia as if they were their tenants or servantes. The said planters being aswell free subjects to the kinge, those that venture their lives aswell as their goodes, and those that must hould the plantacion to England, if Aristotle's rule houlde that, that right which works most to the attaineinge of the politick End must be preferred, this question is by it descyded see the word polycy.

The reasons why this

whereas wee knoweing this derived authoritie from us, to bee the efficient cause and the speciall meanes wheareby wee shall attayne the endes proposed to ourselfe for the undertakeing of the sayde plantacions, did give likewise togeather with our first Patent certayne Articles and Instructions, theareby settleing downe our forme of government for the governeinge of the sayde severall plantacions fitted at that time to those poore beginninges, and promising farther that as the Plantacion should encrease within the degrees aforesayde, Wee, our heires or successours, would ordayne such farther instructions, lawes, constitutions, and ordinances, for the better rule, order and government of such as shall make plantacion. theare as to us our heires and successours shall from time to time bee thought fitt and convenient, limiteing our selves onely to frame them in substance consonant to the Lawes of England

And whereas wee have since contrarie to our first proceedeinges beene induced by severall Letters Patentes dated . . . to ordayne and institute severall orders of governmentes, in our southerne and northerne plantacions now tearmed Virginea and New England, therein applieing our selves to the desires (and as wee feare the private endes) of the adventurers heare, which layeing the groundes of their government accordinge to their private interest and severall joyntestockes, *have governed our free subjectes in Virginea as if they were their servauntes*, Wee knoweing thearefore, that thease severall formes of governmentes doe breede distractions, as well amongst the adventurers heare, as our loving subjectes the personall planters, and understandeing that the joyntestockes of the Southerne Plantacion (whereon their government heare by voices was founded) is now spent and gone, and the plantacion dothe subsist onely of the ould planters now made free of severall private collonies, planted by Patentees, and of diverse publique servauntes, planted by the Collections and Lotteries,

And that the plantacion is now soe strong that it is able to defend it selfe and fitt to put one the face of a commonwealth, Wee (being the politicke father of the whole and

force is not to bee used in sett downe in the treatice of Difinitio chap.—

The tretysse on the word Remidys.

The reason why the forces and soveraigne faculties should not bee put into one hand, reade the said treatice uppon the words Governe and forme.

Reade the treatice uppon the word Policie.

Theis bee the true properties of the efficient cause, which in our case will onelie bee effected by a settled forme that must prepaire apt instrumentes and matter of apt condicion for it to worke on, perticuler formes being united and determined by their certaine perticuler matter, see the treatice on the word forme.

not lookeing one [on] particulars in respect of it) considering and knoweing that the perfection and happinesse of a commonwealth, lyeth not soe much in the spaciousnesse of it, but first and principally in the goverment, consisteing in the mutuall duties of commandeing and obeyeing, next in posessing thinges plentifully, necessarie for the life of man, doe professe that next and immediately after the honour wee shall doe to God in converteing of the infidells to the knowledge and worshippe of Him, we intend wholly the good of our subjectes: first to the planters and adventurers, then to the planted, which wee would have soe cherished that they may prove planters themselves, and to that end endeavoureing to cause both England and Virginea, to endowe each other with their benifittes and profittes that theareby *layeing aside force and our coactive power*, wee may by *our justice and bountie* marrye and combinde those our provinces to us and our soveraignetye in naturall love and obedience, Wee will make this marriage our politicke and last end, to teach us what are the meanes that conduce to it, and to give both measure order and end to them. To which purpose *not suffering any one to growe to greate*, for feare of shadoweing and hindering the rayes of our Majestie to shine over all, *Wee will give to each planter advauncement in the goverment, accordeing as hee shall give farthorance thereto*. In regard thearefore this our soveraigne and uniteing power (and the faculties theareof takeing their roote from our majestie in England) is to spread it selfe amongst many *aswell differing in condition as severed in distance and place*, Wee (findeing that nothing canne reduce this many into one againe but forme) doe ordayne one settled and imoveable forme, to governe all the plantacions within the degrees aforesayde, *which forme being maturely deliberated, ever one and the same, soe as wholly intendeing the end, it shall worke noething but good theareto*, wheareby yt shall not onely serve as a medicine to cure all the malignities that the plantacion doth naturally bring with it, by reason of the distance of the place, but it shall alsoe by waye of right and interest procure us apt instrumentes for the form to worke by,

and prepare matter of apt condition for it to worke one [on], soe farr forth, as if wee laye the forme aright, to matter soe capeable of it, wee may conclude that the properties of the forme must of necessitie followe. The matter thearefore whereone our forme must worke being the people and the place, which are to bee distinguished and divided, and our soveraigne faculties limited to them by fundamentall lawes and order, Wee will first give lawes and order to the people and then we will appoynte them their places, fortifications, and manner of spreadeing.

First thearefore that God maie the better give a blesseing to our endeavours, wee doe strictly charge and commaund all our presidentes, councelles, magistrates, patriotes, governors, and ministers within our sayde severall collonies, respectively within their severall limittes and precinctes, that they with all diligent care and respect, doe provide that the true word and service of God and Christian faith bee preached planted and used, not onely within everie the sayde severall collonies, but alsoe as much as they may amongst the savage people, which doe or shall adjoyne unto them, and border uppon them, accordeing to the doctrine, rightes, religion, and ecclesiasticall forme of government now professed and established in England.

And because wee knowe that where Moses and Aaron agree not there religion will not onely bee scandalled but the soveraignetye must needes goe to wracke, therefore wee doe ordayne that whoesoever hee shall bee that shall refuse to bee governed by our ecclesiasticall government established, he shall bee heald and esteemed as a resister of our soveraigne power, commaundeing all our administers of justice, whome it shall concerne, not to suffer any person or persons to remaine or abide within our sayde plantacions, whoe shall professe any doctrine contrarie to oures, or shall attempt to withdrawe any of our people inhabiteing or which shall inhabite within any of the sayde colonies and plantacions (or any of the naturalls bordering one them) from the same government or from their due allegiance to us our heires and successours, which persons soe often offendeing shall bee apprehended and im-

prisoned, untill hee shall throughly reforme himselfe or otherwise where the cause shall require it be banished Virginea and sent to England heare to receave condigne punishment, for his or their offence or offences.

And because wee are informed that some of the former governores both heare and in Virginea have contrarie to their patent, and our Royall instructions which tyed them to make their lawes consonant to the lawes of England, framed and caused to bee printed a certayne tyrannicall booke of government, which being sent into Virginea, and noe other supplies of foode or apparrell sent either with them or within 3 or 4 yeares after them, wheareby many of you our subjectes, being forced to breake them for wante of foode and necessities have misereably lost their lives or bene brought into slaverie, and whereas this giving life to lawes is one of the highest poyntes of our soveraignetye given us from God to benifitte not to destroye our subjectes, wee shall hould our selfe guiltie of the injurie done if wee should not see it extreemely punished. And this being done in the face of our majestie what may wee hope for soe farr of [off] if it bee not narrowly looked unto. Being therfore most jealous of our honour in that kinde, wee doe straightly chardge and commaund that noe instrument of our soveraigne power shall dare to encroach uppon any parte of our soveraignety, further then they shall bee warranted by the councell of state, or by thease our orders and lawes now sett downe, uppon payne of hightreason. And to the end this lawe shall bee the more strictly kept wee will give the goodes of such offendoers to the publique treasurie makinge the publicke both judge and jurie of this offence as will after appeare.

Moreover because wee are fullye perswaded that wee canne noe waye better attayne unto thease our end designed then by planteing of many private colonies, severed by distance and place, Wee therefore doe especially chardge, commaund and ordayne that all planters of what condition soever they bee, shall enter their names and subject themselves under the government of some one coloneye or other, to bee governed accordeing to the rules and orders by us now sett downe uppon payne of being taken for rebbels and outlawes.

And wee doe further charge and commaund all our presidentes, councelles and magistrates, within their jurisdictions, that onely the offences of tumultes, rebellions, conspiracies, mutinies and seditions, such as shall come to that hight, that they shall prove dangerous to the state theare, togeather with murders, manslaughterers, incest, rapes, and adulteries, togeather with such offences as wee by thease our lawes and orders, shall make felonie or treason, to bee committed in those partes within the precinct of the degrees before mentioned, and noe other offences, shall bee punished by death without the benifitte of clergie, except in the cause of manslaughter in which clergie is to be allowed.

This severing our degrees accordinge as every one appropriates his freedom to himselfe fundamentally by purchase must naturally take awaye all contention aswell for equall liberty as for riches and consequently lottes founded on a rethmeticall equallytie, for every one will labour to maintaine the propriety of his freedom in his degree according to his right as well as his goodes and landes. And Cicero in his Offices saith that though by the instinct of nature, men were drawne into sociable assemblies, yet the better to save the propriety of their goodes was the fundamentall end that made them fynde out heades, governours, and presidentes of citties, the mouthe of equall libertie therefore must needes bee stopped, and this maintenance of theire degrees will immoveably fixe the forme of the collonie, and it will bee a greater greife for anie cittizen to have a note of ignomynrie layed uppon him to bee suspended from his de-

It followeth now that we sett downe thease our orders, degrees of counsellors, magistrates, governors, and all under officers belonging to this our forme, which falls out, first to devide all our adventures into two orders, severing such as are free of our soyle and trade onely, from them that are citiezns and free of our government.

Of the first order there are likewise 2 sortes, servauntes that haveing served out their time, and tenauntes that have estates in dependensie of their masters and landlodes, togeather with freedome of trade, but have noe shares.

The second sorte are such, whoe going one [on] their owne charges they gayne a share, and likewise freedome of trade but are not citiezns till they have not [?] carryed over 2 men.

The second order of adventurers are *such whoe appropriateing unto themselves their freedome, their landes and their degrees by purchase*, they communicate either in the choice or participation of counsell and magistracies and them wee call our citiezns devideing them into 5 degrees.

The first degree is the patriot or patriation, they are such as are first named patentees in the particular plantacions of colonies, cities, and corporations, thease shall bee such as haveing good estates in England they shall carrie or drawe over with them to the number of 300 men as their parteners and adherences of whome they must bee protectors and for whose good abearing they must bee pledges.

gree, or suncke a degree lower then it was by the lawes in printe to bee burnte throughe the tongue, whipt or made gallislaves, by this meanes wee maie avoyde all corporall punishement for freemen except it bee where the case deserves death, and this will breede in the planters the more noble spirittes.

The second degree are such as are admitted to bee of the order of governors by the patriot, whose name being joyned in the patent, the power of cheife governing those colonies, if they bee thereunto elected shall be graunted unto them. Thease must likewise have estates in England either in land, or money in banke, and they must carrie over, or send, as many men, as the patrition of the colonie and they canne agree to have their names soe put in. The patrition may alsoe at any time after admitte as many into the colonie as hee please, they bringeing men to him to encrease his colonie.

The 3rd. degree are such as shall bee maiores and aldermen in the foresayde citties and corporacions, and they shall carrie over sixe men.

The 4th. degree shall bee common councillors, and they shall carrie over foure men.

The 5th. degree are commoners, and they shall carrie over two men.

And if any one shall committe any act wheareby his life and goodes shall bee forfeited to us, though his life bee pardoned hee shall bee suspended from his degree till hee hath brought over a certayne number of men, accordeing to the quallitie of his first degree, to restore him to his sayde degree agayne.

Moreover wee ordayne that of all thease 5 degrees, the eldest sonne onely shall bee of his fathers degree and the younger shall bee of the degree belowe it except they canne rayse themselves by carrieing of men.

And further wee ordayne that the meanest servaunt that goeth (God soe blesseing him and his endeavours, that hee canne purchase and [an] estate in England or compasse to carrie over or drawe over with him of his friendes and adherences the number of 300 men) he may become a lord patriot which is the greatest place the commonwealth canne beare.

Now for the choice and election of our officers, magistrates and governours, wee must beginne at the lowermost degree, sc: the commoners that carrie over 2 men they shall choose out of themselves the burrowehoulders, surveyours of the high wayes, and such like officers. And out of

This riseinge order, the lowermost orders choosing their governours out of the uppermoste, will necessarilie suppress popular libertie and keepe the soveraigne faculties and

the commaund of the forces aloft in these feoffes handes that our forme shall put them, soe as frameinge all the under degrees in a dependensye on the heades of the colonies, whose order haveinge the same authoritye, number of forces, manner of seateing and fortifying each one of them that the other hath, whereby they wilbee brought to an equallitie. Their jealousye one of each other will by maintaineinge that equalitye keepe anie one either from usurpinge further authoritye or by increaseinge the strength and number of his colonie then our forme doth give him, and thus the comonweale consisting of the persons not of the place, wee by gaineinge the affections of theis instrumentes by theire private intrresses and estates in England, giving them such sufficient power as shall make it a commonwealth able to maintaine it selfe by itselfe soe farre forthe onely as it shalbee unyted by us theire soveraigne. Soe frameinge the government that it shall give all men both liberty and meanes of riseinge to the greatest places and honours therein, whereby they will receave such content that they will all strive to maintaine it in the same forme wee shall now settle it, wee maye for theis reasons give them the elections of their owne governors, at which all free subjectes doe naturally desire.

them that carrie foure men they shall likewise choose their common councellers, churchwardens and such like officers. The common councellers shall choose their aldermen and shreiffe out of them that carrie 6 men. The aldermen shall have a maior by turnes except some greate disabilitye happeneth and then the next in turne shall be maior. The Maior and aldermen shall choose their governour either out of them that bee admitted to bee of the order of governours by the patrition, or the patrition himselfe. The maior and aldermen alsoe of [each] severall corporation shall have power to choose out of their corporation one of the order of governours or the patrition himselfe to bee of the provincially councell, which councell being all chosen out of the patritions and the order of governours in everie province, and consisteing of 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, or 15, they shall have a monethly president by turnes, whose haveinge 2 voices, hee shall for his moneth call and breake of [off] all assemblies, and untill the councell of union bee compleate, wee give them the same power, which wee doe give to our sayde councell of union, makeing all theire decrees to stand as lawe, till they are disanulled by us, by the generall parliament in Virginea or by the sayd councell of union, when it shall bee compleate and in force, according to our order now sett downe.

This councell of union being the most soveraigne councell wee will tearme a Syncretisme or councell of union with the councell of England and this councell shall bee chosen onely out of the patriotes of everie province, by a component number of electours chosen out of the order of governours which are not patritions, one out of everie particular corporation, which electors shall bee chosen by the maior and aldermen the maior haveinge the casteing voice, and thease electoures shall choose, 4, 3, 2, or 1, out of everie province as necessitie shall require. *This councell shall have 3 monethly presidentes, by alternate changes* which untill wee have councellers wee will shew the manner of it by letters thus

abc	aec	ahc	alc	aoc	acf	abo	abf	abi	ahm	apb	abd
def	dhf	dlf	dof	dbf	deb	dfg	dei	dem	dep	dec	deh
ghi	gli	goi	gbi	gei	gim	ghe	ghm	glp	gbi	gbf	ghk
klm	kom	kbm	kem	khm	klh	kmp	klp	khc	klf	kli	kmi
nop	npb	npc	nbp	nlp	nep	nel	noc	nof	noi	nom	noa

The groundes and reasons of theis severall counsellis why wee make three presidentes of this Syncretisme or councill of union, and why they take their courses by changes according to theis letteres sett downe are theis. Genoa hath three presidentes, soe likewise had Marcelles which is commended by Cicero to be the best commonwealthe that was in his time, in the worlde. Wee nominate them monethely, because offices of greate power amongst equalls must not contynue longe, and the shorter they are the lesse they maie enterprize against the state. Arist. pol. li. 2 et 3. Wee give them theire turnes because mutuall preferment equally bestowed by turnes dothe preserve and defend citties and commonweales; Arist. pol. li. 2. Three presydenes because of the odd number, three is beste, two beinge as much in proporcion to one as 8 is to 4, soe as althoughe to dispute and trye and examine a cause, the even number is to bee preferred before the odde, yett to conclude and give sentence the number of 3 imployes by necessitye a concluding of it, either

Thus the councill being of 15 ^{teens}, if you order them in this sorte the same 3 men shall not in 5 yeares space meete together to bee presidentes, whereas if they were to take their circularie courses, without changes, they should meete once everie 5 moneths

The presidentes being thus ordered their 3 voices or two of them shall conclude all causes that shall bee controverted by equall voices and not concluded in the bodie of the councill, the eldest counsellor of which presidentes shall summon and breake upp all assemblies. the number of this councill must bee 7, 9, 11, 13 or 15 at the most but in the minoritie of the plantacion 3 may serve without any presidentes, the elder counsellor of the 3 to summon and breake of [off] the assemblies.

And our will and pleasure is that (besides the oath of our supremacie which all our subjectes there shall be sworne to once everie yeare at the least) there shall bee a particular oath framed, for all thease counsellis to take, viz: that all their decrees shall bee made aswell for the uniteing of Virginea to the crowne of England as for the combeindeing of the members to the whole, and that they will to their uttermost power endeavour to prevent all usurpation of encroachment uppon our soveraigne authoritie whatsoever. Reserveing therefore to ourselfe our most high absolute and perpetuall power of commaundeing and controuleing all, that thereby our commissions and writtes of justice may spread themselves over everie person, and in everie place through our whole dominions there, we doe graunt that this soveraigne councill, shall have authoritie to unite in commaund, and to appoynte the number of the forces, puteing the power of commaundeing them into one of our marshalls handes as cheife, to all by turnes, or to each one severally as

all 3 consenting to it, or
ells two to one, which is
sufficiente authoritie to
carrie the cause in ques-
tion. This fault there-
fore that is not unjustly
laid uppon arristocracies
that they are two longe a
determyneinge the busy-
nes of the common
wealthe, whereby the
monarchall forme is farre
preferred before it, will
by this meanes be taken
awaye, this number of 3
addinge more authoritie
to the decree then the
voice of one doth, that
was not for nothings that
there was sixe severall
magistrates in Rome at
one tyme consisting of
Tryumbers. Reade in the
booke termed the jeomet-
ricall motion, to which
I referre them that desire
to bee better instructed
herein.

This allowance and
lymitacion of a dictatour
is onely in cases of ne-
cessytie because desperate
diseases must have des-
perate reamidies, poysons
expeling poysons when
the body of the state and
councell is rent and torne
in peices into factions
which deades and de-
stroyes the power of it,
when the armye abroad
mutynies or is distressed
by being invyroned, be-
seiged or caught in some
straight, then and not tell
then must it be cured
with this onely and ex-
treamest last healepe of
nameing a dictatour,
whose word governing all,
the magistracies being
suppressed, the lawes
made sylent, hee must not
bee called to an accompt

occasion shall require, giving them our
sayde councell likewise authoritie to pro-
claime warre and make peace with the
naturalls of the cuntrie, to taxe tributes
aswell for a treasure for England as for
Virginea, to dispose of the treasure in Vir-
ginea as the councell in England have of
the treasure in England, To make con-
tractes with the king or companie in Eng-
land and consenteing with them accordingly
to rate the prizes of comodities, which shall
bee sent hither or thither, to appoynte the
places where the forces and colonies shall
bee planted, to condemne and pardon, to
banish, to confiscate, to proscribe accorde-
ing to the laws ordayned, To call magis-
trates and governours to accompt, and in
*case of necessitie limiteing his time shorte
and the place certayne to institute any one
man that shall have soveraigne power as
the dictatoures in Rome,* and all this their
authoritie and all thinges they have done
thereby shall bee firme and of force till it
be disanulled by us and our councell in Eng-
land. This councell of union cannot be
compleate, till there bee 3 provinces. In
the meane time the provinciall councell shall
serve the turne, wee giving them the sayde
authoritie to exercise and use within their
owne provinces.

Now in regard the active and groweing
quallitie lyeth in the well foundeing of pri-
vate families, and collonies, wee (as a
spurre to industrie, sheweing that the
heades of these colonies are sparkes de-
rived from our hereditorie monarchie) doe
give and graunte unto them and their heires
for ever, the hereditorie commaund of the
soveraigne forces, limiteing them to use
them onely in their owne collonies and in
the wastes adjoyneing to them, except they
bee authorized to use them farther by the
soveraigne councell of union, and to the
end they shall onely employe this our sword
and forces to the supporteing of our sover-
aignetye and the mainetenaunce of our
justice theare, Wee will give them for the
reward of their service these titles and
honoures followeing. The degree it selfe
because wee cannot give them better names,
they shall bee called Patriotes or patritions,
when they are 300 strong and planted
abroad then shall they bee tearmed
knightes patriotes with the title of Sir.

for anie thing hee shall doe, by the counsell there. Thus the sworde beeing put into the handes of some one brave and austere commaunder, whose resolves and executes at an instant wee cannot expect that the resolutions that come from a counsell can bee soe suddaine, nor cann the counsell execute ought but by such an instrument no more then the head can worke without handes, but this wee must bee sure of, that he that is soe chosen must bee well affected to the state heare, he must bee an austere governour, whome the people are afraide of, his time lymitted must not bee too longe.

When they have attayned to bee 600 strong, at which number wee (intendeing everie planter and servaunt to bee the father of a familie) doe stente the colonies that they shall not exceede above soe many families (or that anoether colonie hath issued out of them) our will and pleasure is that their sonnes and heires shall bee then knightes patriotes and they themselves shall bee Barrons and tearmed lord patriotes, their wives and other children takeing their honoures and places accordingly. In time of peace they shall bee and have the authoritie of our leiuetenantes of sheires in England, to appoynte the commaunders of our men at armes, see them trayned, to looke to their armes and watches. In time of warre they shall bee charged with what number of men the counsell of state shall thinke fitt.

The patriot must bee allowed his leiuetenant aswell in cases of disabilitie, by nonage or impotencie, or in their absence either about the busienes of the state theare, or about their private busienes in England, but these leiuetenautes shall bee chosen by the order of aldermen out of the order of governours the better to give the sayde order of aldermen content.

And whereas the patriotes are the principalest ringleaders and greatest adventurers, which carrie and drawe with them their freindes, kindred, followers and adherence out of their naturall countrie to a place soe farr remote, to be protected governed and cherished by them, Wee doe therefore will and commaund all our sayde patriotes, loveingly carefully and cheerefully to performe this their trust. And wee doe ordayne that after admonition for being churlelish and negligent in that kinde, they shall bee noted with a note of ignominie, if they shall not endeavour the helpeing and protecteing any of their foresayde adherence, by all lawfull meanes they may, and this wee charge as well all our presidentes counsell and marshalls to looke carefully unto, the rather to drawe the Indyans to the like dependencie.

And wee doe further ordayne that from the time that the patriot shall bee planted abroad, his estate of inheritance in England, together with his honoures titles and inheritance in Virginea, shall bee soe united and made one to him and his heires that he shall not sell the one without the other, and that sale to bee made by the consent of our counsell of union in Virginea and our Virginea counsell in England, or the most parte of them meeteing at their generall courtes and not otherwise. And if it happen that the patriot doe dye leaving noe heire male of his name then shall it goe to the female and their heires. And the eldest daughter of the patrition, and the heires that shall challenge by the female side and their children shall beare the patriotes sirname, if they will inherite the sayde honoures and landes, which if they shall refuze that then the nexte of the kinde either by the father and then

of the mothers side, takeing the patriotes adopted sirname shall enjoye the sayde inheritance.

And because wee knowe howe dangerous it will bee to the state to suffer thease greate honoures and inheritances, to bee conjoynd either by combinations, leagues, and marriages, wheareby some one familie may growe monsterous in the state, thearefore wee doe estabilish and ordayne that noe person planteing or inhabiteing within any of our provinces within the degrees aforesayde shall make any leagues, combynacions or contractes either by worde or writinge, or confirmeing them by oaths, offensive or defensive, to the mainetenaunce of any faction whatsoever, uppon payne of forfeiteing their goodes and lives as fellows, and to prevente the combindeing and conjoyneing of thease honoures in one house by marriage wee doe further ordayne that such eldest daughter or heire female as shall marrie with any patriott, or the heire of a patriott, shall disenable herselfe from inheriteing her fathers or predecessours patriotshippe thereby, except shee marryeing of a husband soe inamored with her that he shall sell or give away his owne patriotshippe and soe shall take the sirname of his wifes auncester, he may by that meanes inable himselfe to inherite her honoures and estate and soe by marryeing the inheritrix of the patriot, hee will bee accompted a kinde husband, and that will be his portion. The principall intent of frameing this lawe being that noe one subject shall either by purchase or any other meanes unite the forces, theareby to inable himselfe to bee stronger then any of his order.

But to the end that love may bee mayntayned, and that theise degrees may not estrange the upper orders from the lower, wee wish that the heires and eldest sonnes of the upper orders may marrie with the daughters of the lower orders, soe to rayse their wives fortunes. And that the daughteres of the upper orders being heires may marrye with the sonnes of the lower orders, makeing choice of the most vertuous, soe as vertue may advance both men and woemen to marriages, and that all degrees may bee thereby bound together in the bonde of love that none may be scorned but the scorner.

To this end alsoe, although wee would not have you imitate the Irish in their wilde and barbarous maners, yet wee will commend one custome of theires unto you, which is that the poorer sorte sueing to gett the nurseing of the children of the lordes and gentrye, and breedeing upp in their minoritie as their owne, this breedeing, together with their custome, doth begett anoether nature in them to love their foster children and bretheren, as if they were naturally bread of the same parentes, and they are accompted most vile and base that shall neglect any good oportunitie to shew their thankfulnessse and love thus begotten and bread betweene the riche and poore.

And because wee will give all furtherance of the spreadeing of thease newe collonies wee doe thearefore ordayne and appoynte that all such servauntes that shall bee carried at the charge [charge] of any adventurer or planter, both those servauntes that are soe carryed over and their servauntes, with their servauntes servauntes, shall bee tyed to plante in consortshippe with their first masters, and shall rise and remove with them to plant a newe colonie when their foresayde masters shall bee enabled by our forme thereunto. which shall bee after hee hath gayned and [an] estate in England and is able to drawe over or carrie with him 300 men, leaveing the collonie hee was first planted in 300 strong or upwarde.

The next magistracie is the governour, him wee ordayne after the death of the first patriott to bee annuall by election, but dureing the life of the first patriott hee shall bee governour and afterwarde his heires shall bee honoured as head of that order but shall not governe unlesse hee bee theareunto chosen. The governours charge shall bee to see the lawes, decrees and orders aswell in the publique government of the colonie as in the private families observed. hee shall controlle all men for breach of manners and discipline, first giving them private admonition and afterwarde publique if they persevere in their misdemeanour. Hee together [with] the maior, the shreife, the churchwarden, and one commoner chosen by the rest of the commoners, the governour having the casting voice, they shall have power to indite for breach of lawes, and to suspend from degrees for breach [of] manners according as in their discretion shall be thought meete.

The next order that wee ordayne is the maior and aldermen, together with the shreife, all which 3 orders in matters of triall of life and death, wee ordayne that they shall bee tryed either by the councell of state or the provinciall councell, the jurie that tryeth them being to bee of their owne ranke and order, and in case where there are not soe many to bee founde, they shall bee supplied out of the order and ranke next beneath them.

And wee doe give as well to our provinciall councell as to this degree and order the jurisdiction over all persons and degrees under their order, they having some one learned in the law to direct them. And wee doe ordayne that both our sayde severall councells and the sayde maiour and aldermen, shall have full power and authoritie in their jurisdictions to heare and determine as well all capitoll as criminall causes, which in the precinctes of their severall colonies or incorporacions in manner and forme followeing (that is to saye) by twelve honest and indifferent persons, as neere as canne bee of the plaintifes and defendantes ranks and orders, then the sayde juries to bee chosen indifferently out of both their orders, which juries are to be returned by the marshalls, for the provinciall councell, and by the shreifes for trialls in incorporacions, these jurors being sworne uppon the evangelist shall according to their evidence to bee given unto them uppon oath, and according to the trueth in their consciences either convicte or acquitte the persons accused and tryed by them, or shall trie causes for matter of right, betwene the plaintife and defendaut, guided by their consciences and by evidence one oath delivered to them, wee givinge authoritie to the provinciall councell and to the maiour and aldermen, in either of their jurisdictions respectively to reprieve and put of [off] execution of any one adjudged to dye, but wee will graunte noe power to pardon death, to any but to our great Councell of State.

Furthermore for the ordering of our under orders in these our corporations wee doe ordayne that everie alderman shall have his severall ward devided to them according as their number of citiezens encrease, and everie one must have a common counseller under him as a deputie whome must appoynte under them everie tenne men a taskemaster chosen out of the commoners, or of the best labourers, these must worke in the head of their file, and givinge them good example must direct and over see them. And the taskemasters and common counsellors must weekly relate to the governours, whome loytereth and whome taketh paynes, and they must be rewarded or punished accordingly. These taskemasters and common counsellors in their wardes,

must alsoe take care of all sicke persons, and they must complaine of masters that abuse their servauntes, in suffering them to want either foode or apparrell. All thease thinges must bee certiefied to the governour and hee must see it amended, for they and the whole colonie as a bodie politicke, must make good to the state there and heare all the covenantes that the patriot, the governour, aldermen, one common councillor or one commoner or 3 of them of the sayde colonie of which the patriot or governour must bee one, shall undergoe to any adventurer that sendeth servauntes thither, or any trades men that shall trust them with wares, for such colonies as are raised there, they shall give warrant under the seale of the colonye, before 5 of their councill there. And the councill there sendeing their letters of credence to the councill heare, they shall binde the colonie whome the letters concerne to performe all covenantes that they shall undergoe. Thease covenantes must bee acknowledged and sealed heare before the Treasurer and his deputie and foure councillors, and then they must stand as a statute to binde and make lyable all the goodes and persons of any personall adventurers in the sayde colonies, the arest of them or their goodes to bee made either heare or theare. The like shall bee done for all collonies that shall bee raised heare, certificcate being made by the councill heare, of their warrauntes acknowledged in courte, and this shall binde all their goodes and persons theare to bee aunswearable to any seasure that shall bee made for not performeing the covenantes signed and sealed as aforesayde. This assureance as well of their owne goodes they adventure as all the goodes of that colonie wherein they adventure, will give such satisfaction to adventurers, that shall either have sonnes, brothers, or kindred that they meane to doe good too, that they shall neede onely to lend them their adventurers for, 5, 6, or 7 yeares, as the colonie and they canne agree, and then they may have their moneys repayed. .

Moreover because where the busienesse of the commonwealth is left to manye, there everie one putteing it of [off] noething is donne, therefore our Councill in England nominateing 9 persons (whome they shall thinke meete) to us, wee will make choice of 3 of those 9 to bee principall magistrates planteing them in each province one, which shall have power to see each magistrate, councillor patriot and governour to execute their office, to see the lawes and orders observed, and to execute the decrees of our councill as our shreifes doe in England. And thease being capeable of the generall commaund of the forces throughout their severall provinces when the Councill of State shall put the sword in their handes, they must onely have power to censure indite and suspend, but hee must have noe jurisdiction. Thease 3 magistrates havinge soe good alloweances as the plantacion will afforde them, they shall settle their estates in England and have noe estates in Virginea, everie one haveing certayne men allowed them for their guard by the collonie, And houldeing their places for a time limited by us and our Councill in England and removeing them from province to province as wee shall thinke meete. Thease wee appoynte to bee our marshall governour, and are to take their directions, both of takeing upp and layeing downe the sword accordeing to their commissions by the councill of state in Virginea graunted and giveing ane accompte of their actions to the sayde councill, at their comeing out of the feilde.

Furthermore wee considering that this greate power given amongst our magistrates councills and governoures may (as wee have formerly

shewed in the lawe provided against the abuses of the sayde soveraigne power) prove to bee the undoing of our obedient subjectes that are to live under it and bee commaunded by it, And soe may turne to the ruine of the commonwealth, Thearefore it concerneing the whole bodie politicke aswell as everie particuler member, that it may bee the better looked unto, and the more severely punished, wee doe ordayne a Syndex or magistracie, framed out of the 5 orders or degrees, 3 a peece out of everie order, that shall soe often as the generall parliament meetes have power to enquire, examine, trye and adjudge (as neede shall require) all the greate councellers either of the state or of the provinces, the patriotes, the governours, or any other that shall have the administration of justice within any of our sayde provinces or collonies. And whichsoever of them shall bee found guiltie of oppression or the encroacheing farther uppon our soveraigne power then to him or them or [is] limited by thease our orders, or warranted by our councill of state, they shall have power to punish them accordeing to the lawes, either with losse of life, goodes or banishment. The goodes of which offendoures, wee will bestowe one [on] the publique, whoe haveing caught the wolves and stripped them shall have the fell for their paynes. Noe scentence must passe in this magistracie under 10 voices, none of death under 13^{een}. This magistracie must continue dureing the time of the Parliament. Everie councillor or magistrate that shall bee questioned by this magistracie, must stand 8 dayes subject to this inquisition and triall, in which time it shall bee lawfull for any man to accuse him, and after wardes being acquitted he shall have a certificate under the handes of thease magistrates, certiefieing his integritie in his place, which may remaine by him as a merke of honour to him and his posteritie. To choose this magistracie, there must bee a provincially parliament called, one out of each order of the 5 orders in everie corporation, which being mette and the orders sorted and severed by themselves, they must write everie one his name to whome they give their voices, and then the partie out of everie order which hath the most voices must stand as choosen for this magistracie. Thease magistrates shall bee called the Protectoures of the comonwealth dureing the time of their magistracie.

To the purpose thearefore that wee may forthewith have thease our orders lawes and forme of government, put in execution, wee doe first charge and ordayne that all our councellers in Virginea shall perswade and prepare first and especially the ould planters and all other adventurers that are planted there and have servauntes, to devide themselves into consorteshippes of 30^{ties} or 50^{ties} to bee principall men in thease our particular collonies, and that they planteing themselves as neere one to the other as may bee, will prepare houses for certayne other planters or servauntes that shall be sent to them, of whome they shall take charge, they being payed aswell for those their houses as for their undertaking the charge of servauntes, by them that shall enter or adventure into consorteshippe with them. And that such our councellers, as have estates in England or Ireland and such other of the planters as canne procure 300 men to joyne with them, to bee suretyes one for each other that within 7 yeares they shall purchase estates in England, to such a value as shall bee thought meete. Thease shall be allowed to bee patriotes.

And wee doe farther will and charge our councill in England that they give furtherance to all such as shall bee soe consorted, to supplie

them with planters that haveing estate heare may bee either patriotes or of the order of governours. And to cause adventurers that will onely send servauntes thither to joyne with those ould planters, giving them reward for their paynes, and for such hundredes as are now planted onely with tenauntes or servauntes, to cause the ould planters that are freehoulders to joyne and plante with them, and likewise to send to them patriotes and governours that have estates in England, to plante amongst them, that the ould planters may both helpe to instruct them and keepe them to their laboures. And the colonie may bee aunswearable, both to the state for their allegiance and to the adventurers for their adventures and that they will not graunt any farther patentees hereafter to any other but such as shall bee enabled by this our forme to take them.

And in regard that our planters in Virginea may bee the better furthered by the companie in England wee doe ordayne that everie collonie after it is 300 strong shall appoynte 3 deputies of their principall adventurers whome they best trust, resideing in or about London or Plimouth, whereof one of them being nominated to bee the principall shall bee authorized to bee present at all consultations with the councill of Virginea and New England, to consulte upon the election of officers belonging to the courtes there, and about contractes with the King or companie about auditeing the accomptes. The whole order and classis of thease men, being tearmed the preconsulters, shall have a negative voice to staye and hinder all thinges that shall bee prejudiciall to the planters in Virginea giving in their names, their consentes or their denials for the matter questioned in writeing, the other two deputies shall bee as agentes and factors to buy and sell the goodes transported and returned to and from Virginea.

An wee doe further charge our councill in Virginea, that in the interim whilst thease thinges are doing, they will send out certayne flatt bottomed vessells to discover to the southward where the best places (most especially for health) are to plant one [on], and that they will likewise prepare long and large vessels flatt bottomed, like those they tearme flutes in the Low Countries, that in transporting our men they may laye drye in them till their houses are made or built.

For the seateing and ordering thease severall plantacions because they require a good judgement upon the veue of the place (there haveing beene either none or verie slight discoveries in that kinde), wee must leave it to the wisdom and judgement of you our councill in Virginea, but wee knowing the manye inconveniences that doe heape themselves together both upon the plantacion and the governement in our planteing in grosse, which noething but a potent domesticke enimie should enforce us to, And considering that the naturalls of the cuntrie are soe weake, that the strenght and largenesse of the cuntrie is soe greate, soe as by the fortieing of the mouthes of the rivers and keeping the center and middle province of the plantacion strong, And knowing that the deviding of our forces in soe strong a cuntrie will bee a principall meanes not onely to encrease the strenght of them by our retireing fightes from one collonie to the other, tyering, debillitateing and anyeing an assayleing enimie and draweing them to all places of disadvantage, but alsoe to bee a speciall helpe to the attayneing of all other our defined endes, Wee doe ordayne therefore 3 provinces, a southerne, a middle, and a northorne province, planteing our collonies in them, accordeing as wee shall finde the rivers to lye, planteing not above

2 collonies one one river, One at the falls to make bridges to coste the cuntrie, and anoether not farre of from the mouthes of the sayde riveres, and they being noe farther of [off] in distance one from the other but that they may second one the other in 3 or 4 dayes by land, which manner of planteing and seateing them, will not onely bee and [an] impulsive cause enforcing by necessitie the continuance of the governement by us now ordayned, but alsoe and [an] especiall meanes of gayneing healthie places to plant one [on], a meanes to enlarge our dominions, a meanes to encrease our navie, a meanes to discover the comodities of the cuntrie, a meanes to make tame and civill the Indyans, a meanes to make our commaunders the better agree, a meanes to keepe our collonies from generall mutinies and oppresseing each other, a meanes to keepe them from making leagues and aydeing each other agaynst the soveraigne councill, a meanes to ballance one province and collonie by the other, a meanes to make them joyne against anyone that shall rebell against the generall governement, and finally a meanes to make the patriotes greate within their owne collonies and wastes adjoyneing to them, thus planteing them and equalling them in number, seateing, ordering, and fortieseing them, our religion, discipline, governement, ecclesiasticall and civill, the ordering of our families, and the tying of the naturall Virgineanes all to coheare accordeing to our forme, everie thing will bee soe united and made one in dependencie, as the essence and being of it shall naturally depend one our soveraignetye.

Now because wee will shewe you that the duties of commaundeing and obeyeing are mutuall, haveing hitherto endeavoured to winne you to a loveing obedience of thease our lawes and orders sett downe in this forme, as wee intend wholly for your good and advauntage, wee by waye of retributeing our love for your obedience doe promise that heereafter if you shall either finde out there groweing, or plante there any commoditie that shall bee of necessarie use in any of our dominions, that then payeing us our customes and impostes, and being able fullye to supplie us with the sayde commodities, you shall have onely the bringeing them in. And because wee knowe that this spreadeing and groweing quallitie doth necessariely require a publike groweing stocke, in performance of this our promise, wee doe give unto such as shall desire to plant estates in England, the sole importation of tobaccoe, that you may plant estates aswell in England as in Virginea, wee doe enjoyne you that if by restrayneing it that it come not too fast into England, and by keepinge it in banke heare, it shall prove worth 4 or 5 pounds, yee shall bee payde halfe of it in Virginea in commodities and servauntes at easie and reasonable rates, and the other halfe shall remaine in banke in England, in good handes (you receaveing 6 in the hundredth) to imploye as you shall thinke meete, The surplusage proffite above 4 or 5 being imployed as a treasurie for the publike. Wee will order that there shall bee servauntes and cattle equallie sent to the collonies, the benefitte of whome they shall have the 4th. parte of it for takinge the charge of them.

And because wee doe knowe that a sett and frugall habite is the best meanes to advance a groweing commonwealth to the one that yee may banish superfluitie and that everie degree may bee knowne by their habbites, wee doe charge and commaund you to sett downe amongst yourselves certayne frugall and inchangeable fashions, for each degree to weare, givinge to the ould planters some noate of honour to distinguish them from others.

And that this may bee the better donne, wee doe ordayne, that there shall bee a megasine for the publike, the stocke whereof shall bee raised out of the ould debtes and the fines of such as have abused the governe-ment, which stocke shall still bee upheald and increased as the plantacion increaseth aswell by the benefitte of retourne of commodities, as by one 4th. parte of the publike servauntes labours, by and [an] increase of the 4th. parte of the cattell, and by a rent to bee reserved out of the landes where the publike servauntes shall bee planted, when they are once made free tenauntes.

We haveing thus not provided you a meanes to plant estates in Eng-land but put you into the waye how it shall bee donne, our businesse will bee soe to order the seateing, fortiefeing and the manner of the spreadeing of your collonies, that it maye bee for your healthes, and strenghtening of you, soe onely, as you may not strengthen yourselves against our publike state. And because soveraigne seates are onely to bee used where the person of the soveraigne hath his continuall abydeing, therefore wee doe ordayne that noe colonie shall bee planted one [on] the mouth of any naviegable river, where the channells maye be commaunded or shall take any soveraigne seate naturally strong to commaund both sea and land, but shall leave the mouthes of all the riveres to bee fortified in that manner the state shall thinke fitt, onely with small fortes bastions or bullworkes that maye contayne 20 or 30^{tie} men a peece, to handle their ordinaunce to beate and commaund the channells. But because prepotencie is the principall thing that you must all take heede of, dwarfes and gyantes never agreeing well together in one familie, ranke or order, wee will leave this to your cares whome it doth most especially concerne to looke unto it, willeing and commaundeing you that noe peece of grounde within the degrees before limited, shall bee taken and fortified, by any our subjectes the planters theare, but first a commission shall bee directed to certayne surveyoures some of which shall bee well experienced in fortification, a record being kept of the names of the commissioners, together with the condition of the place, the quallitie, quantitie and manner of the fortification by them all owed to bee made, that not onely thease commis-sioners if they shall connive and suffer such fortes and places of ad-vauntage to bee taken and fortified may receive condigne punishment therefore, but alsoe it may make all such planters as shall fortifie con-trarie to the alloweance of the state to bee unexcuseable, which offence accordeing to our lawes of England, wee doe ordayne that it shall bee fellonie.

Now for the manner of the fortification that they may bee all equall, wee will and commaund that there shall bee one sett forme for all, and that citties bee fortified with bricke and stone walls onely, not of any greate thickenesse, but battalemented one the toppe, flanked without and tarrased within more for comelynesse then strenght, planteing them either uppon easie and accessable assentes, or else one levell groundes, by small rivers as farre from marshes and ill aires as may bee, not suffering any to fortifie within gunneshott of the banke of any greate navigable river, neither one collonie to plant one both sides theareof that they may not annoyne either those that plant above them, or such their neightboure collonies as shall abutte againste them, but wee would have them plante one [on] such small riveres as are fordeable, and wheare bridges may bee made to passe them, there they shall plant one both sides, if the riveres bee not the boundes bettwixte

two collonies, in which cases none of the sayde collonies shall plant within gunne shotte of them, the fisheing being common to both. One [on] thease riveres if wee shall plant our townes in the middest, our wastes and commons next and our cuntrie villages last, makeing them soe strong as they maye bee sufficient defences agaynest the Indyans, and the placing those villages in and [an] orderlye distance one from the other, everye planter that is but of 2 or 3 yeares standeing will knowe his station, the manner of the fortiefication and buildeing aswell as the Romans knew their campe. But for the manner of spreadeing and devideing our collonies, wee will take example by King Alfridde whoe first devided England into several sheires or sextions and appoynted over everie sheire and [an] earle to commaunde his forces theare, which sheires hee alsoe devided into lesser partes whereof some bee called Lothia [lathes?] of the Saxon worde, which signifieth to assemble, others he tearmed hundredes, because those that commaund over them, had jurisdiction over a hundredth pledges, others he tearmed tytheinges, soe named because there was in each of them ten persons, whereain each one was suretye and pledge for the others good abeareing, and whatsoever hee was that was not of credдите to bee receaved into one of thease tytheinges hee was either subject to the marshall law, or else committed to prison and there made worke like and [an] idle droane. if this course bee now taken in Virginea and that the Indyane within the wastes adjoyneing to the collonies, were by your gentle usage drawne into thease polliticke orders, whereby each collonie should have their propper Indyans beelongeing to them, whoe seeth not what greate benifitte would arise to the plantacion theareby.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Indian Historical Studies. By H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., Professor of English Literature, The Deccan College, Poona. (London, New York, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1913. Pp. xiii, 229.)

THIS is a collection of ten essays, written in a pleasing and readable style, and having as their professed purpose the awakening of popular interest in Indian history. Eight of the ten are biographical; their subjects are a curiously miscellaneous group, ranging from such well-known figures as the founder of Buddhism to Robert Knox. (Knox was an obscure seventeenth-century Englishman, who was shipwrecked on Ceylon and detained there for many years; in his autobiography he gave an interesting account of Ceylon, which our author has summarized from Ryan's edition of Knox's autobiography.) Other persons whose lives our book describes are the emperor Asoka; the Chinese-Buddhist pilgrims Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang (based on Beal); the Moorish traveller Ibn Batuta (1304-1378 A. D.); the emperor Akbar (died 1605); Shivaji, the Marathi chieftain (born 1627); and finally the very modern Sikh leader Ranjit Singh (1780-1839). The two remaining chapters, III. and X., deal in different ways with the ticklish subject of foreign influence in India. Here, especially in chapter X., the author seems to have treated his materials with somewhat greater independence than elsewhere, and to have made more extensive use of the general literature on the subject.

It is not infrequently difficult to guess the sources on which Mr. Rawlinson's statements are based, because of an unfortunate tendency to omit exact references. He puts in his preface a brief list of works of which he has made considerable use, but seldom takes the trouble to state the source of his information for details. This is not so serious a defect in the biographical chapters, each one of which is mostly based on one or two standard works of reference. Yet even in them we are occasionally startled by a grossly unorthodox dictum, stated calmly *ex cathedra*, without anything to indicate whether it is a product of the author's own fancy or of that of his unnamed source. See for instance page 121, note 1, where he highhandedly throws out the etymology, generally regarded as unquestionable, of the word Maratha¹ (Sanskrit *Mahārāṣṭra*: so, e. g., Grierson, s. v. Marathi, in *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th

¹ I suspect that in this particular instance our author may be indebted to Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, a work to which he refers elsewhere, and to which unfortunately I have no access.

ed., XVII. 670). This habit becomes nothing less than exasperating to the specialist, and downright misleading to the layman, in chapter X. on Foreign Influences in the Civilization of Ancient India. Here are found a mass of speculations, new and old, good, bad, and indifferent, for which the sources are frequently not given, and of which the only summary characterization I can think of is the following rule of thumb: where the author has made a categorical assertion, or has added to his statement "certainly", "without doubt", or the like, the reader should understand "possibly" in about one-half of the cases, and "probably" in about another quarter of them.

Such a characterization would not, however, be at all fair to the greater part of the book—of which the worst that can be said is that it contributes nothing new. The author has generally chosen his authorities judiciously. In the case of such out-of-the-way characters as Ibn Batuta or Robert Knox, even Indianists may thank Mr. Rawlinson for giving us readable summaries of the comparatively little-known sources. In such a case as the Buddha, the justification for his essay is less clear; yet it must be said that he has caught the spirit of the great Teacher's mission, and has accurately related the alleged events of his life (although, it seems to us, without full realization of the semi-mythical character of the Pāli legends about the Buddha's life). The metaphysics of Buddhism he almost entirely neglects; but, as he truly says, the Buddha himself regarded abstract speculation as of very minor importance.

The spelling of proper names in the book is not wholly consistent, and savors of the amateur, as does the curious slip *Jaina* for *Jina* (pages 12 and 13); *Jina* ("conqueror") is an epithet of various religious teachers of India, including Gotama the Buddha, while the derivative epithet *Jaina* is used only of the adherents of a rival sect, the Jainas, who were so named because they were followers of another *Jina* (named Vardhamāna).

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

The Living Past: a Sketch of Western Progress. By F. S. MARVIN, M.A. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1913. Pp. xvi, 288.)

THIS narrowly escapes being a great book. It is a highly original synthesis of the social and intellectual history of mankind, from the palaeolithic cultures of the ice-age to to-day—and to-morrow! It is a thoughtful book, compact, well written, well proportioned. Its sketches, even of scientific progress, reveal the subtle touch of style. The narrative runs along with a sort of energized placidity which allures but never unduly excites the reader. To judge by its speech, one would place it among those well-bred books which have been brought up in the study of an Oxford don; but when one listens to the content, one wonders what outside company it has been keeping. For this is heresy—or would be if the author had not deftly avoided calling his book

history. As it is, if the historian does not have in his creed a belief in a living past he can ignore the work as a creation of—the sociologist; if the sociologist does not find it social enough—which he won't—he can turn it over to the scientist, who, being unschooled in the intricacies of scholastic distinctions as in the universals or accidents of social evolution, will probably say that here is at least a sensible point of view for the understanding of how he and the world came to be what they are.

There are twelve chapters. After a preliminary statement of the principle of “thinking backward and living forward” which gives us our grip upon reality in a dynamic world, we pass rapidly but suggestively over the long stages of pre-historic culture, from the ice-age on, glancing at the meaning of invention, and the formation of a “collective, organizing intelligence”. There is a note of poetry here in the half-regret that as man pulled apart from the animals he lost touch with them and their ways of instinct, and a Bergsonian suggestion that he may re-learn some of these instincts some day. The Early Empires contribute to the growth of rational control, not simply law and luxury, but the great art of measuring—measurement of space and time for the planning of an ordered life. Languages and an alphabet are necessary for the social intelligence, but mathematics—first practice, then theory—is the basis of material control. This is good work, but marred by a strain of teleology, which emerges now and again—or is it that the reader is unduly suspicious of such phrases as that Greece and Rome did “their preliminary work” for the spread of Christianity? One seems to have a memory of similar phrases in Augustine!

The history of Greece as Mr. Marvin sees it is in a new perspective. Thales pondering over a right-angled triangle—more important in the story of intellectual emancipation than all the theogonies of Hesiod—the Pythagoreans first conceiving that the world is a globe, Sophocles with his paean of human power, Hippocrates separating medicine from magic, Socrates “the first figure in history whom we know intimately”, Plato the mathematician, Aristotle the biologist, and not least, Hipparchus the scholar—such are the data of the new survey. The keynote to Roman history is, of course, the development of law—from *fas* to *jus*, taboo to human rights. The originality of the treatment here lies mainly in the suggestion of its rôle in the history of “progress”—itself a Latin word. The chapters on the Middle Ages and the Renaissance are the weakest in the book, following more traditional, and less enlightened, analyses, but once the author strikes the “Rise of Modern Science” he is more master of his field. From the rationalism of pure science, the world of Descartes, Newton, and Leibnitz, he turns to the story of the Industrial Revolution, in which “the concrete tools with which man alters and fashions the world around him” were to catch up with the “purely intellectual instrument” which in the preceding century had so far outstripped them. The stretch of this great epoch is slight, but the author sees it in its setting in the long process of the

centuries, its creations—cities and wealth and power; its problems of the new democracy. "It is just a hundred years since the first steamer left the Clyde and much less since the first locomotive engine took persons still alive on a journey by rail. The interval since is so crowded with events that we rightly treat it as an epoch; yet in the life of the species it is but an instant—a flash from the anvil in the forge of mankind." The story of the "Revolution, Social and Political", which brings in our age, begins with Condorcet and Kant, Hegel, Beethoven, and Wordsworth. What a background for the fierce movements of France! As for the chapter on "Progress after the Revolution", it reveals England as the Greece of to-day—where the biological world-view invades the mathematical. And the great name is Darwin. A final look forward ends in a burst of poetry.

It is always an event when a thinker invades history, however partial may be his conquests. Some would have had a different plan of campaign, and, like Blücher in London, regret the vastness of the spoil that has been overlooked, and some may find fault with the treatment of what has been taken over. But this may, after all, be only a flying squadron. Let the old guard beware!

J. T. SHOTWELL.

The Ancient History of the Near East: from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Salamis. By H. R. HALL, M.A., F.S.A. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1913. Pp. xxiii, 602.)

THE appearance of this book is peculiarly timely. In Mr. Bryce's presidential address before the London Congress of 1913, he dwelt upon three fields of research which had recently expanded the range of historical study. Two of these, the study of primitive man, tracing him back through the Bronze Age into Neolithic and Paleolithic times; and the work of excavation and discovery "in Egypt, in Western Asia, and in the lands about the Aegean", are included in the territory which Mr. Hall purposes to survey in this new book. Obvious as the situation has been to those working upon it from the side of Oriental civilization, the conservatism of classicists has long isolated Greece and Rome as fields of study not to be invaded by the profaning hand of the somatological anthropologist, the sociologist, or even the economist, and least of all by the unsympathetic Orientalist; but the discoveries of the last ten or fifteen years have revealed the Mediterranean, and especially the Eastern Mediterranean, as a field of study which can no longer be diked about by classical conservatism or isolated as in a water-tight compartment. The Eastern Mediterranean was, as we now know, for ages the scene of a slowly developing civilization, essentially Oriental in its origins, and as Burrows has remarked in his discussion of Crete, this island was long the northern and western outpost of the Orient. It is of course no accident that the region in the north where civilization took its first great steps forward at the close of the Stone Age, should have been over against the mouths of the Nile.

No book has yet gathered together and presented the vast and complicated interaction of Oriental and Mediterranean civilizations as they commingled in the Mediterranean from the days of early Crete, at the end of the Stone Age, 3000 B. C., down through the dissemination of Christianity and the expansion of Islam till the Moslems threatened to girdle the Mediterranean; nor does any book available in English present such a survey, even for the earlier period alone, that is, down to the supremacy of the Greeks, as Hall does. The picture of the Mediterranean, with the civilized forces of the great East converging upon it for eons, culminating in the supremacy of Greek and Roman, and amid that supremacy the ultimate universal triumph of Oriental religion, is one to quicken the imagination and inspire the vision. But the canvas is vast and the composition attempted may entirely dissolve in confusion of detail on the one hand, or on the other it may fade into flat neutrality of tone and complete lack of color, of individuality, or of commanding and contrasted figures. Its treatment requires so much, both in the matter of preliminary training, and in the command and organization of material, that few have ventured upon such an enterprise. It demands a more laborious apprenticeship in the use of archaeological tools and philological materials than is necessary in any other historical field. It is easy, not only to be swamped by the mere bulk of such materials, but also to find these *materials* determining the *form* of the treatment, and obscuring the human career that lies behind them.

Our author, a well-known official of the British Museum, brings to his task long experience and wide familiarity with the vast field he is called upon to cover. It may be said in the beginning that he is most successful in dealing with the civilization of the Aegean, on which he has long written; but he marshals his materials and results with excellent effect on all sides of the Eastern Mediterranean, and it is evident that he has devoted the greatest labor and industry to the production of this work. What seems to your reviewer the soundest quality evinced in the work is the author's discerning eye for historic parallels, as when he recognizes in the Philistine conquest of Palestine a movement of the non-Semitic Westerner into the Semitic East parallel with that of the Crusaders against the Moslems (p. 400) and as certainly doomed to failure.

It is impossible to make this review even a condensed summary of the book; a critique of some of the main contentions is all that can be attempted.¹ The author's position that the civilization of the Nile Valley was decidedly superior to that of the other Eastern peoples of the time (*e. g.*, p. 291) cannot be questioned; and he therefore devotes more space to that land than to any other of the Oriental countries.

The relations of Asia and Egypt form, of course, one of the most important rubrics. It need hardly be stated that Hommel's vagaries regarding the alleged Babylonian origin of Egyptian civilization find no

¹ A more detailed discussion of this important book will be found in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XXX. 125-137 (January, 1914).

place in the book. The author states, without qualification, that the Egyptian Sun-god bore a Semitic name, and that he was imported from Asia into Egypt (p. 85). The actual situation is that we have in Egypt a Sun-god as the High God far earlier than any document revealing a Sun-god in Asia, a state of affairs which was *a priori* to be expected in view of the fact that Egypt is a country enjoying almost cloudless skies the year round. The Solar cult was so powerful in Egypt as to contribute to Asia the well-known winged sun-disk adopted by the Assyrians as the symbol of their national god, and then also taken over by the Persians. The only *demonstrable* borrowing is thus against the author's position.

One of the most important of the early Egypto-Asiatic connections is navigation in the Mediterranean and the earliest surviving evidence of sea-going ships. For some reason we do not find any reference in Hall's volume to the earliest known voyage between Syria and the Nile; the forty ships of Snefru in the thirtieth century B. C.; nor, what is even more important, the new reliefs actually depicting a portion of such a fleet, dating from the middle of the twenty-eighth century B. C.

In an historical review of a long series of civilizations it is difficult not to fall into a mechanical presentation of external events, as contrasted with a survey of processes. In order to avoid this pitfall such a review demands powerful analysis and a penetrating discernment of characteristics. Incisive analysis cannot fail to discern the unique individuality of Amenhotep IV., the earliest monotheist in history (p. 298), and the impossibility of discovering his like in mere organizers, such as Hammurabi or Thutmose III. Perhaps this criticism may find its explanation in the fact that the author is so interested in the archaeological materials in a field where they are so plentiful and important, that the book sometimes, and unavoidably in some places, makes the impression of an archaeological commentary, a catalogue of *material* documents. The sources, written and unwritten, seem not always to have fused in the author's mind, to emerge in a symmetrical presentation of the *human career* revealed in the documents, irrespective of the form of these. Hence, in the Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt we find no reference to the epoch-making *literary* development (p. 168), the earliest known chapter in real literary history. A development in matters archaeological is of course a more tangible thing than one discernible only in social processes. Hence it is, as we turn to Asia, that we find rather an archaeological chronicle than a sympathetic presentation of the expansion and deepening of Hebrew civilization as a result of social processes, and especially of Hebrew religion as the outcome of a critical social experience consisting in no small measure of the ferment resulting from the friction between the ideals of earlier untrammelled nomad life and of the settled life of the Palestinian towns with its class distinctions.

The author's presentation of the civilization of Babylonia is less archaeological than the other portions of his volume, and is a very useful summary of recent results based chiefly, in its earlier portions, on

King's *Sumer and Akkad*, although it displays commendable independence in disputed matters. Probably few would accept the author's judgment that Hammurabi was the first great organizer—certainly no one who has visited the pyramids of Gizeh would be inclined to accept this view. This is the first book in English which places the Assyrians in their proper perspective. The noble art of the Ninevites, as displayed in relief sculpture, receives due justice, but we should have been glad to see recognized the fact that in spite of obvious limitations, the Assyrian was the first really great civilization in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, as contrasted with the more limited culture of the merchandizing Babylonians. The very fact that Ashurbanipal compiled a library is of itself profoundly significant of a new age. There were no libraries in Old Babylonia and the discriminating interests and splendid cosmopolitanism of Sennacherib, especially as revealed in his recently recovered documents, are things entirely unknown in early Babylonia, and might properly find some commemoration in an estimate of the genius of the Assyrian Empire.

It is in the correlation of the Oriental civilizations with that of the Aegean that the particular value of our author's volume lies. His acceptance of Cretan civilization as pre-Indo-Germanic, and of the Mediterranean population who created it as the physical ancestry of the historic Greeks to a large degree—an ancestry which had meantime absorbed the Greek language, represents an undoubtedly sound position on the basis of the best evidence now available. The East has occupied so much of the author's space that he is obliged to make his study of early Greece, as he himself states, largely a consideration of external events.

Few, if any, historical works in English issued in recent years involve the treatment of a mass of material so vast, so varied and so widely scattered. It is therefore in no spirit of carping criticism, and with full appreciation of the innumerable difficulties and opportunities for going astray that the following corrections are noted. The attribution of the Great Sphinx of Gizeh to the Twelfth Dynasty (p. 164), a hypothesis first put forward by Borchardt, to whom the author for some reason makes no reference, is a supposition long since discredited. Archaeological data have shown clearly that the Sphinx is a work of the Fourth Dynasty, the same age which brought forth the Gizeh Pyramids behind it, of which it was the guardian. It is evidently a portrait of Khafre, the builder of the Second Pyramid of Gizeh. Borchardt himself, the author of the theory of later date, has abandoned it. The so-called "Temple of the Sphinx", the great granite building alongside it, which the author likewise attributes to the Twelfth Dynasty (p. 164), is also a work of the Fourth Dynasty, being the monumental gateway of the vast ramp, or causeway, leading up to Khafre's temple before the second Pyramid of Gizeh. Had this building been placed in the age to which it belongs, the author would hardly have made the remark that "the civilization of the Vth Dynasty is practically the same as that of

the IVth" (p. 129), "for this building by the Sphinx is a veritable embodiment of the massivity of the Fourth Dynasty as contrasted with the refinement, grace, and beauty which find expression in the earliest known columns and colonnades discovered in similar buildings of the Fifth. In discussing the question of Cretan palace-decoration, more particularly wall-painting, the author contrasts such Cretan paintings with those of Egypt by emphasizing the insertion of numerous inscriptions by the Egyptian artist (p. 51). This of course applies not to Egyptian *palaces* but to Egyptian *temples*, and the sensitive interchange of influence between the wall-painting of the Cretan and Egyptian palaces is evident. Indeed the recent excavations of Borchardt at Amarna have made it pretty clear that the plan of the Cretan palace was derived from Egypt.

The author's style is forcible and interesting. The thirty-three plates of illustrations are excellent and well chosen. It is inevitable, as we have said before, in a work covering so large an area of history and so vast an array of sources, written and unwritten, that opportunities for difference of opinion should be very frequent and that numerous pitfalls should beset the way. If much of this review is devoted to such inevitable differences and corrections, I wish nevertheless again to express appreciation of the devoted industry which the author has brought to his task, and to predict for his volume the usefulness which such a valuable survey of man's early career deserves.

JAMES H. BREASTED.

Les Esclaves Chrétiens depuis les premiers Temps de l'Église jusqu'à la Fin de la Domination Romaine en Occident. Par PAUL ALLARD. Cinquième édition entièrement refondue. (Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 1914. Pp. xiii, 484.)

Les Origines du Servage en France. Par PAUL ALLARD. (Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 1913. Pp. 332.)

THE first of these works is crowned by the French Academy and a congratulatory note on the behalf of the pontiff precedes the preface. There is no exaggeration in calling the volume a most valuable contribution to the history of slavery, and it would be mere bickering to try to pick a flaw in the author's reasoning. In his opinion the amelioration of slavery did not come as a result of economic changes, as often asserted, but as a change of heart caused by a new religion, hence as a moral change of view of the whole question. And had the Church which caused this change achieved no greater victory in her long and arduous striving for the betterment of man, in the author's opinion (and the reviewer's as well), this alone would be sufficient for us to arise and call her blessed.

In the foreword of the second volume the author states what is meant by serfdom, as different from slavery, as understood by the ancient world. He thereupon proceeds to explain how the fourth and fifth centuries were a period of attachment to the glebe all over the Roman Empire.

All progress is arrested; everyone is a slave of the republic; paralysis has overtaken the body politic. It is true no one must be idle, labor is restored to its ancient rank, the government, anxious to make the professions agreeable, raises the workman to the rank of administrative nobility so as to spur him on to greater effort by an appeal to his personal vanity. But all is in vain; the countryside depopulated and the servile population ceasing to increase, the *freeman* must be made to till the soil, and the colonus makes his gradual entrance, while the laws, forbidding the sale of *slaves* away from the land on which they are occupied, in this way, from another source, forcibly swell the numbers of cultivators. Thus serfdom is established, a sweetened slavery. Serfdom then is not the result of social changes produced by the settling of the barbarians in different sections of the Roman Empire; it exists before the invasion. It is still cause for doubt whether the invasions were a good or an evil to civilization. Montalembert declared that society needed two invasions: the barbarians from the north and the monks from the south. Guérard, editor of the *Polyptique d'Irminon*, thought the Germans succeeded only in utterly breaking up society. The author agrees that the barbarians have not done any service which is not inferior to the evil they have done. The Roman laws had striven to make the lot of the slaves more humane, but the invasions put these results in jeopardy—the slave markets became again filled and reduced the status of serfs to that of slaves. In the houses of noble barbarians the domestic service was arranged exactly as it had been in rich Italian and Gallo-Roman houses; slaves everywhere. This would have brought on a renewed inundation by slavery if the Saints had not thrown themselves into the fray and by prodigious efforts of persuasion, prayers, and work, rebuilt the fallen dike and caused whole populations to be sent back to their homes. The author goes on to elaborate the part played by the Church in gradually reclaiming the lost ground and hedging it around by moral and legal precept, till the freeing of slaves or the giving of them in large bodies into the custody and management of the Church became recognized as the most suitable retribution for past misdeeds and peace-making with heaven. He speaks at some length of the *servi fiscali* and the *servi ecclesiastici*, the two most favored classes, the king and the Church being the two greatest slave-owners, and shows that despite great and good fortune coming at times to the fiscal slave or serf, the ecclesiastical one was nevertheless a happier being inasmuch as servitude under the Church was, if arduous, at least not subject to violent and harassing changes. The order and economy which reigned on the domains of the Church made the burden, since burden there must be, easier. He discusses at some length the accusation against the Church that, while it recommended liberation for the sake of the soul to all others, it was itself chary indeed of such gifts to its own unfree. Muratori held that the Church was forbidden to free its serfs, because such freedom would be alienation of property. M. Allard shows that bishops were permitted to liberate a reasonable number, one-tenth probably; that Pope Gregory

gave an illustrious example by freeing whenever he thought necessary; that bishop or abbot, bringing slaves or serfs as personal property into the Church, could liberate an equivalent number. With regard to the monasteries, the serfs thereof were the collective property of the monks and no abbot could free them without the consent of the brethren. It is, however, the opinion of the author that the serf was happier within the Church than outside it and could at no time be safely left to shift for himself. His discussion of Charlemagne's capitulary *de Villis* and of the various *Polyptiques* contains much of interest, and the characterization of the Carolingian epoch as the time when the serfs (through the freshly awakened interest in education for all classes within the Empire) rose to a level with the rest of society either as clerics or as servants of the new machinery of government, gives him opportunity for keen and helpful observations. That this rise of the serf in the social scale was not accepted with unmixed pleasure by the upper classes was but natural. But while service ought forever to exist within Christian society, it seemed to be the opinion of the time that slavery and serfdom must remain an unnatural state of affairs which Christians could not allow to be perpetuated. France at least became more and more a land of liberty, and the impulse given during the ninth century helped to make it so.

A. M. WERGELAND.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Cambridge Medieval History. Planned by J. B. BURY, Regius Professor of Modern History, Cambridge University; edited by H. M. GWATKIN, M.A. and J. P. WHITNEY, B.D. Volume II. *The Rise of the Saracens and the Foundations of the Western Empire.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1913. Pp. xxiv, 891, 12 maps.)

THIS volume opens with three chapters relating chiefly to eastern Rome. In two of these Professor Charles Diehl, of the University of Paris, tells of "Justinian and the Imperial Restoration in the West", and "Justinian's Government in the East". He treats in competent and clear fashion of the rise and character and aims of the emperor and of Theodora, of the earlier problems under their reign, of the Byzantine army and diplomacy and what was achieved through them, of internal governmental policies, and of the general results of the reign for the peoples concerned, in East and West. A long-standing gap among short treatments in English is thus filled, capably and usefully. As much can scarcely be said of the third chapter in this group, Roman Law, by H. J. Roby. It contains a few excellent pages on the antecedents and plan of Justinian's legislation. Much less successful however is the summary of various parts of Roman law—such matters as slaves,

marriage, divorce, wills, inheritance. Certainly the treatment of these matters is true to the disavowal, expressed at the outset, of all pretension of trying to be interesting or seasonable to the lay palate, like Gibbon.

The next five chapters concern the old Roman West, mostly lost to new powers. Professor Christian Pfister, of the University of Paris, gives a simple, clear-cut account of Gaul under the Merovingian Franks, strikingly like that he contributed to the Lavissee *Histoire de France*. It is indeed not as effective as the account there, owing to much omission of illustrative fact, but it easily takes rank as the best résumé of the subject now available in English. Dr. Rafael Altamira treats, with that full competence to which students of Spanish history are accustomed in him, of Spain under the Visigoths. He gives chiefly a sober recital of facts reign by reign, but with brief interpretative bits here and there that tell convincingly the causes of what was going on. Dr. L. M. Hartmann, well known for his mastery of Italian political history in the Middle Ages, gives an account of Italy under the Lombards. Save in some sentences and a few paragraphs, he hardly rises above a mere chronicle of facts. He treats also Italy—in this case in conjunction with Africa—from the imperial side, with reference to administration. Here fortunately he is much more successful, partly no doubt because the subject lends itself better to effective organization. At the close of this group of chapters, and relating again largely to Italy on the imperial side, is a clearly interpreted and warmly appreciative account of Gregory the Great, by W. H. Hutton. It is well to have the personality, work, and significance of Gregory set out so sympathetically, beside the rather stern pages by Dr. Hartmann.

With the next few chapters one returns to the East, to the Empire and its enemies, and especially the Saracen inundation. Mr. Norman Baynes writes, with the up-to-dateness of a leading investigator in the field, of Justinian's successors, chiefly "the unpractical Justin, the pedant Maurice, the crusader Heraclius". He is unable often to do more than chronicle, but some parts of the picture he certainly makes live, particularly with reference to Heraclius. Especially at the beginning and the end are fine interpretative paragraphs. To the invaders from the south—arriving when the Empire and Persia were both exhausted—three chapters are given. Professor Bevan treats of Mahomet and Islam, with no special distinction yet usefully; not venturing much into interpretation—with its endless uncertainties in this case—rather confining himself to a simple statement of facts in the light of recent work. Professor C. H. Becker, of the Colonial Institute of Hamburg, sets forth the expansion of the Saracens, with one chapter for the East and one for the West. He rises admirably to his opportunity of making for English readers a brief account, abreast of recent advances in knowledge, of an immense subject on which our older accounts are quite useless. He does it furthermore usually in interpretative fashion, and at times in a perspective that is most exhilarating. Such work is highly welcome. Coming back to the Empire, the other extreme in merit is

approximated by Mr. E. W. Brooks, with his chapter on the successors of Heraclius to 717. Mr. Brooks hardly does more than list facts. Even mere fact-listing, however, is sufficient to convey a general impression of the time on some matters, as the savageries by which Justinian II. recovered the throne, or sought to reduce the Chersonites.

The rest of the volume relates to Europe; and first to the Slavs, Kelts, and Teutons, and England in the Mercian period. Dr. T. Peisker, who wrote for the first volume the scholarly and illuminating account upon the Asiatic background, treats here, also in a highly scholarly and illuminating way, of the expansion of the Slavs. He describes their original country—the marshland traversed by the Pripet, only recently put beyond dispute by the researches of a Polish botanist—together with their earlier organization and life, and then, as the editors well express it, “discusses their place in history, their relations to their German and Altaian conquerors, their spread on the German border and in the Balkan countries, and the new social conditions which prevailed when Slav states became independent”. This is one of the most welcome parts of the book. Professor C. Jullian, of the College of France, and Professor Anwyl describe Keltic heathenism, in Gaul and the British Isles respectively, and Miss B. Phillpotts does likewise for Germanic heathenism; then Mr. F. E. Warren and Professor J. P. Whitney tell of the conversion of the Kelts—in Roman Britain, Ireland, and Scotland—and of the Teutons—in England and in Germany. Two of these writers, Mr. Anwyl and Mr. Warren, confine themselves either to stating what meagre evidence the documents afford or to listing trustworthily established data; Professor Jullian, and in considerable part Miss Phillpotts, give a well-organized digest of the subject; Mr. Whitney rises now and then to good interpretation, and thus relieves somewhat an otherwise very prosy record. Mr. W. J. Corbett narrates the growth of Mercia, and treats besides, incisively and usefully, such matters as the introduction of the hidage system, the work of Archbishop Theodore, and social and political organization.

Then the tale turns to the Franks and the papacy. Professor Burr, the only American contributor to the volume, gives a richly interpretative account of the Carolingian revolution and Frankish intervention in Italy, bringing well into view, among other matters, the large rôle of Pepin in the building of Frankish power. Professor Gerhard Seeliger, of Leipzig, provides the account of Charles the Great. He does less well with the conquests and the imperial revival than with the work in legislation and administration, but his two chapters together form a well-organized and highly competent treatment, that should prove of good service. Spliced between his chapters is a digest, by Professor Vinogradoff, upon social change, beginning with some features of early German organization and closing with the arrival of “political life on a small scale”. It is thoughtful throughout, and here and there puts the relations of some long-studied things in a most suggestive way. At the end, Dr. Foakes-Jackson discusses the growth of the papacy, chiefly

from Gregory the Great to the crowning of Charles as emperor, with the aim of showing "the successive stages by which the Roman pontiffs asserted their independence of all secular authority"; a clear, useful survey.

One feature of the presentation of all this matter is to be regretted: the lack of clear indication of the organization of each chapter. Where the joints are will be plain enough, for a good number of the chapters, with the reading; and in most of the other chapters they should hardly prove too long a problem for the more thoughtful. On the other hand the finding of the way might easily have been facilitated, for many users of the book at least, by a better selection and arrangement of headings in the table of contents and at the tops of pages. The headings as they now stand often quite fail to mark the chief divisions, and sometimes are even misleading. "Unification of the Empire", for page 659, hardly brings out clearly what really begins there, that is, a description of central government under the Carolingians, with the king in the foreground. "Results of Justinian's Reign" does not fit page 24, nor in an exact way that portion of Professor Diehl's account; the point there treated begins on page 22, and might better be called "results for the conquered regions". Much might have been done toward obviating this feature of the work, simply through the table of contents, by more just indication of the chief points, and by indentions in connection with the titles of minor points. Marginal headings would have served still better. They would have had too the advantage, for all users of the work, of making more apparent at a glance the character of the matter presented; often showing, for example, by their definite marking of the limits of treatment of each point, where brief fact-listing prevailed and where something else was attempted.

The bibliographies also provoke complaint. Not, however, for what they omit. They show indeed a curious omission here and there, as when in the list for Professor Vinogradoff's chapter mention is made of Guérard's but not of Longnon's edition of the *Polyptique de l'Abbé Irminon*. As a rule however they are inclusive enough, certainly for the purposes of such a work; some are very notably so, as those for the chapters by Altamira, Dr. Peisker, and Professor Burr. Their material, besides, is well classified, in every case. Their only really embarrassing weakness is a prevailing lack of explanatory comment. On this point the *Cambridge* histories stand obstinately behind the times. Happily, though, there are a few lapses from the rule. Some of the contributors do give brief explanations, preferably on the original documents and early authorities but now and then even on a modern work. On the honor roll for this are Altamira, Baynes, Becker, Miss Phillpotts, and highest of all Professor Burr.

All complaints made, however, this book is bound to be of wide service. It applies to a highly important period, yet a period cultivated by but few scholars in the English-speaking world. By the aid especially of foreign scholars, the editors have been able to fill a consider-

able number of serious gaps with competent up-to-date accounts, and have made in the volume as a whole a distinct addition to our means for the study of European history.

E. W. Dow.

Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres. By HENRY ADAMS, with an Introduction by RALPH ADAMS CRAM. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1913. Pp. viii, 401.)

THE topic of this book is the genius of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Some works upon the past are history primarily, while others, primarily, are literature. In the one, the writer seemingly is lost in his subject; in the other, the subject, if not merged in the writer, at least draws interest from his personality. "The style is the man"—in literature; and in literature, it is from the "man" emerging before the eyes of our mind that we draw pleasure and illumination. Naturally, that a book is "literature" in this sense, affects its presentation of its topic. Mr. Cram says in his admirably enthusiastic "editor's note" to *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*:

Greater, perhaps, even than his grasp of the singular entirety of mediaeval civilization, is Mr. Adams's power of merging himself in a long dead time . . . it is no phantasm of the past that shines dimly before us in these magical pages; it is the very time itself in which we are merged. We forgather with the Abbot and his monks, and the crusaders and pilgrims in the Shrine of the Archangel, etc.

In my opinion, on the contrary, we "forgather" all the while with Mr. Adams, to our great delight, if not instruction. He offers himself neither as a preacher nor a teacher, but as the "Master of the Show" which is made of the spiritual scenery of the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages are transformed in Mr. Adams's mind and mood reacting upon a period, of which he has great knowledge, and into which he has profoundly thought himself. And the book is for us a rare *trouvaille*, for whether Mr. Adams is merged in the Middle Ages, or *vice versa*, we have a moving presentation in which we hear them speak in terms intelligible to—the elect.

Who among us feels and understands the Middle Ages? Searchingly and with misgivings, the writer of this review has often asked himself this question. No Roman Catholic would admit that a Protestant, or one who had been such in his youth, could do much better than deceive himself in thinking to understand them, by conjuring up his artistic sympathies and interest in human striving. Can a man who does not believe in the Virgin understand the Middle Ages? Did Mr. Ruskin mean to answer this query in the negative, when he said that there had not been any noble art since men ceased to believe in Her? I do not remember just where or how Mr. Ruskin said this; but one had best not remember Mr. Ruskin too specifically, for specifically he is often wrong. One should retain him as an ennobling mood or moralizing point of view, as Mr. Adams retains him, doubtless.

On the other hand, one may doubt, and with the hope of having Mr. Adams with us, whether the true believing Roman Catholic can know the Middle Ages as well as a man who stands outside, and is not part of them, but contemplates them objectively. Perhaps in the end one is tempted, somewhat foolishly, to think that they can be understood and felt only by some ideal personage fashioned for this purpose, say one who has been a Roman Catholic and gently and sadly has very honestly ceased to believe. Might he not know them subjectively in reminiscence, and objectively in the light of clearer knowledge? As one who has ascended through a bank of morning river-fog, and can look back and see it under the sun's beams soft and white below him along the trough of the river valley?

Mr. Adams begins with an account of Mont St. Michel, literary and delightful like the whole book, and then takes up the *Chanson de Roland*, as belonging likewise to the eleventh century: "The 'Chanson' is in poetry what the Mount is in Architecture. Without the 'Chanson', one cannot approach the feeling which the eleventh century built into the Archangel's church" (p. 12). And he makes a finely perceptive remark in saying, "One's translation is sure to be full of gross blunders, but the supreme blunder is that of translating it at all when one is trying to catch not a fact but a feeling" (p. 15).

From Mont St. Michel, he passes through Normandy and the Île de France, and comes to Chartres. There, fixing his abode, he will present through fascinating and suggestive chapters its towers and portals, its roses and its apse, its marvels of glass and the meanings of its legendary windows, its nave, and the church's total grand significance as the Virgin's palace-court. The popular dominance of the Virgin in medieval catholicism is given sardonic emphasis. Chapters follow entitled the Three Queens, Nicolette and Marion, Les Miracles de Notre Dame. Here the superior allure and subtlety, capacity and intelligence, veritably the leading rôle of Woman in medieval life, are made to pursue the reader through some scores of delightful pages, overflowing with intellectual whim and fantasy. The reader flees but loathly from their captivations—their captivating paradoxes. Also the illuminating tale is told of Our Lady's inconsequent pity for the inconsequent sinners, her devotees. Judging every suppliant by his needs and love of her, Mary "embarrassed the Trinity" (p. 276).

With the very clever presentation of Abelard, one begins to realize the intended universality—still somewhat sardonic—of the book. And then we read the closing chapter on Saint Thomas Aquinas, and are left in doubt whether we have gone the round of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, or the round of the mind of Henry Adams, which uses its great knowledge of that period to reflect its own reactions.

Listen to the closing paragraph of the last chapter:

Granted a Church, Saint Thomas's Church was the most expressive that man has made, and the great Gothic cathedrals were its most complete expression.

Perhaps the best proof of it is their apparent instability. Of all the elaborate symbolism which has been suggested for the Gothic cathedral, the most vital and most perfect may be that the slender nervure, the springing motion of the broken arch, the leap downwards of the flying buttress,—the visible effort to throw off a visible strain,—never let us forget that Faith alone supports it, and that, if Faith fails, Heaven is lost. The equilibrium is visibly delicate beyond the line of safety; danger lurks in every stone. The peril of the heavy tower, of the restless vault, of the vagrant buttress; the uncertainty of logic, the inequalities of the syllogism, the irregularities of the mental mirror,—all these haunting nightmares of the Church are expressed as strongly by the Gothic cathedral as though it had been the cry of human suffering, and as no emotion had ever been expressed before or is likely to find expression again. The delight of its aspirations is flung up to the sky. The pathos of its self-distrust and anguish of doubt is buried in the earth as its last secret. You can read out of it whatever else pleases your youth and confidence; to me, this is all.

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR.

Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1154. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indexes by H. W. C. DAVIS, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, with the assistance of R. J. WHITWELL. Volume I. *Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913. Pp. xliii, 159.)

It is characteristic of the neglect of diplomatic studies in England that the student of English history has at his disposal none of the *Jahrbücher*, *regesta*, or *catalogues d'actes* which clear the way and smooth the path of the Continental investigator. The imposing series of *Calendars* deal, so far as British documents are concerned, with materials already handed down in chronological order, and where the labor of arrangement has not been performed by the scribes of the Middle Ages, the user of records is left to shift for himself. Even when a scholar of Mr. Round's competence and distinction is set to calendar documents in France, he is sent, not to the materials themselves, but to a group of loosely made transcripts in the Public Record Office. It is, accordingly, a service of the first importance to the historical profession that Mr. Davis has undertaken in preparing a series of *regesta* of the charters of the Anglo-Norman kings. His qualification to deal with this period has been shown by a number of special investigations, as well as by an admirable general volume, and he possesses the perseverance and attention to detail necessary to carry so considerable a task to its end. He has had the advantage of generous co-operation at the Record Office and the British Museum and in cathedral archives, as well as of the assistance of Mr. Whitwell at Oxford, and has been able to increase as well as to set in order the available store of royal charters. Thus, besides the analyses of four hundred and ninety-five documents of the reigns of William the Conqueror and William Rufus contained in the present volume, there is also an ap-

pendix of ninety-two charters and writs printed in extenso, most of them for the first time. Each of the *regesta* contains a brief analysis in English with the list of witnesses in full and references to parallel sources, notably Domesday. The date is determined as closely as possible, and doubtful or spurious documents are indicated, but without any full discussion of their genuineness. The entries are numbered, an improvement over most of the *Calendars* issued by the Record Office, and there are abundant indexes, but the absence of references in the *regesta* to the texts printed in the appendix is inexcusable. We are glad to learn that the succeeding volume, devoted to Henry I., will be even richer in new documents.

As regards the general plan of the work, the principal defect lies in including a number of charters issued "in and for Normandy" without any exploration of French archives and libraries. Much can of course be said for covering documents issued in Normandy by English kings or for English religious houses, but no sound reason can be advanced for going further without attacking the whole problem seriously and systematically. As it is, the selection of material is wholly accidental, being confined to English manuscripts and to such printed collections as have come under the editor's notice, and the result is confusion. The matter is made worse by including a dozen readily accessible charters of Robert Courthose, who never ruled in England and has no place in an English calendar. Such a method leads, not only to omissions, even of printed material, but also to errors in connection with the documents actually treated. Thus if Mr. Davis, or Mr. Round before him, had ever seen the cartulary of Rouen cathedral or the text printed from the original in the *Histoire de la Maison d'Harcourt* (III. 34), he could have assigned to no. 384 its exact date of 1095. He could also have found in the *Revue Catholique de Normandie* (X. 283) the full text of no. 376, which he knows only from a citation, and in Bessin's *Concilia* (p. 75) a text of no. 146a different from the one he has reprinted in the appendix. These sporadic Norman documents also mar the work by bringing in place-names which have not been identified, and isolated chaplains for whom the editor has created a "Norman chancery", whatever that may have been.

The introduction, as compared with the introductions to Continental works of the same type, is meagre, especially on questions of diplomatics. The different types of documents are dismissed in a paragraph without any discussion of matters of style or external form. There are a few good pages on the Anglo-Saxon chancery, leading to the conclusion that "the organization, though not the name, of the chancery can be traced back at least to the early years of Edward the Confessor"; but the treatment of the chancery of William I. and William II. is unsatisfactory, consisting merely of lists of chaplains and a brief account of the succession of the chancellors. The biographical notices of the chancellors contain irrelevant matter, like the statement that Maurice was worldly

and "a loose liver", which should have been sacrificed to a fuller treatment of the questions which are here of primary importance. Thus there is no discussion of the date of Herfast's promotion to his bishopric or of the kind of problem raised by his appearance as chaplain in no. 29 a year after witnessing as chancellor in no. 22. The account of the household officers is better, and there are some interesting pages on justice and administration in the charters, though the new material is less than one could hope.

Taken as a whole, Mr. Davis has given us an intelligent and exceedingly useful piece of work which deserves to be continued even beyond 1154. It is, however, to be hoped that in succeeding volumes extraneous matter may be excluded and topics directly connected with charters may be treated with the fullness which they deserve. There is also room for greater accuracy in detail and greater finish of workmanship.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

A Calendar of the Feet of Fines relating to the County of Huntingdon, levied in the King's Court from the Fifth Year of Richard I. to the End of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1194-1603. Edited by G. J. TURNER, M.A. [Cambridge Antiquarian Society, publication no. XXXVII.] (Cambridge: The Society. 1913. Pp. clxiv, 300.)

WITHIN the narrow limits of an introduction to this calendar the evidence for early English legal history is again examined and interpreted by one of England's most able legal historians, and the conclusions reached, some of which were discussed with Maitland, are not always in accord with more or less generally accepted theories. The subject-matter is varied. There are useful notes, marked by Mr. Turner's very exact scholarship, on the extension of proper names, the use of surnames, titles, and styles, and a long and valuable discussion of the nature of fines and the intricate procedure by which they were levied. The most important of Mr. Turner's suggestions, however, are based upon what is passed by the fine, and relate to early agrarian history and land measures. The earlier manor he believes to have been the "mansion" of the lord, with appurtenant judicial and agrarian rights. He shows that the creation of new manors was not in every case the result of subinfeudation, and thus makes more clear the difficult working of *Quia Emptores*. He believes that changes in the units of measurement of land are to be ascribed not to the coming of new conquering races but to the natural shifts of agricultural systems. He suggests that the bovate, not essentially a Danish measure, was the territorial holding of the ordinary peasant in the north, that it contained twelve and a half customary acres of twenty-five strips, thus proving itself older than the two-field system, that it was measured by the customary rod of six yards of the north, and that it was in no way a measure of economic necessity,

but the holding of the peasant who contributed one ox to the plough team of eight oxen. In like manner, the territorial virgate was not the derivative of the hide, but was the normal tenement of the south, measured by the *virga*, or rod, and containing thirty "customary acres", or sixty-acre strips measured by the five-yard rod of the south. The customary acre and the customary rods of different lengths in different districts by which it was measured, thus established, are very valuable additions to our knowledge of early land measures. Mr. Turner might have added Lincolnshire to the districts in which the "stang" occurs.

With regard to the origin of the hide, the manorial system, and the vill, the suggestions, while tentative, are of great importance by reason of Mr. Turner's mastery of the evidence and the clarity and independence of his thought. The manorial system he takes back again to the Romans, accepting those parts of Seebohm's theory that have not been refuted. The hide, he suggests, corresponded to the Roman lord's domain, and formed the unit of allotment to the German settler, who had under him sixteen peasants each holding one virgate, foreshadowing thus the five-hide arrangement proved by Mr. Round. The so-called big-hide argument of Maitland is probably thus met; the free lordless village remains a difficulty, but Mr. Turner promises further discussion. The intermixture of the lord's strips with the villagers', which would weigh against his conclusion, he believes to be the result of later acquisition, and the original demesne to have been separate, although measured in strips for convenience of cultivation. For the vill as an agrarian unit he substitutes a "mere group of hides", an administrative unit equivalent to the tithing of ten hides, a tenth of the hundred, suggesting on the authority of William of Malmesbury that Alfred was responsible for the institution of the hundred and the tithing or vill. Such suggestions raise many questions, and lead one to hope that Mr. Turner will soon carry his study of Anglo-Saxon conditions further—that he will consider, for example, the history of the agrarian unit in districts like Norfolk where, as Mr. Haverfield has pointed out, the Roman villa or farm did not appear.

N. NEILSON.

Georgius Agricola: De Re Metallica. Translated from the first Latin edition of 1556 with Biographical Introduction, Annotations, and Appendices upon the Development of Mining Methods, Metallurgical Processes, Geology, Mineralogy and Mining Law from the Earliest Times to the Sixteenth Century. By HERBERT CLARK HOOVER, A.B., and LOU HENRY HOOVER, A.B. (London: published for the Translators by *The Mining Magazine*. 1912. Pp. xxxi, 640.)

THIS translation of the *magnum opus* of Agricola is a noteworthy monument of patient and intelligent scholarship and generous private expenditure, and is worthily dedicated to Professor John Caspar

Branner, of Stanford University, under the inspiration of whose teaching it was conceived and executed.

Famous in its day, Agricola's *De Re Metallica* has been famous ever since. For two hundred years after its first appearance in 1556, it was the principal authority in mining and metallurgy; and students and teachers have frequently referred to it ever since. But it is noteworthy that, in English literature at least, its splendid self-explanatory engravings have been copied or cited a great deal, and its text very little. The reason is, that while the pictures are clear, the text is obscure. For Agricola, writing in Latin, coined numerous new Latin words for technical terms which that language could not furnish. To make the matter worse, a German translation, made, at the request of the Elector Augustus of Saxony, by a professor of medicine at the University of Basel, where it was published in 1557, was marred throughout by blunders due to the translator's total ignorance of the subject and its technical terminology. Many a student, trying to make out the author's meaning through the German translator's awful confusion, has abandoned the attempt in despair. Even to-day there exists no correct German translation, and probably this English translation is the first that has ever given with even approximate accuracy, the meaning of the Latin original, the obscurities of which have been removed by *expert* study of the text itself, comparison with an incomplete glossary made by Agricola himself, and thorough research in the technical literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This work required both literary and technical training—a combination rarely found in one person, but furnished in this case by the partnership of husband and wife, both Stanford graduates, and the latter specially familiar with the Latin language and with editorial work. The result of their mutually indispensable labors is this folio, which not only reproduces, in the splendor of its vellum binding, linen paper, beautiful type, and graphic illustrations, the volume issued by Froben of Basel (one of the finest specimens of the art of the sixteenth century, and not surpassed to-day), but also gives us the means of comprehending and estimating Agricola himself, who, though recognized, to some extent, by his own countrymen, has certainly not received from the rest of the world the praise he deserved.

Agricola was born in 1494, at Glauchau, Saxony; studied at the University of Leipzig; was for some years principal of the municipal school at Zwickau, where he taught Greek and Latin, and published a Latin grammar; went to Italy, where for three years he studied philosophy, medicine, and the natural sciences, and made, through correspondence, the acquaintance of Erasmus, then Froben's editor at Basel; returned to Saxony and became in 1527 town-physician of Joachimsthal, in the busy mining district of the Erzgebirge. Here, in the intervals of practice, he eagerly studied both the practice and the history of mining and metallurgy, and subsequently, while town-physician of Chemnitz, where he resided until his death in 1555, he began the series of publications upon which his reputation rests, and which includes *De Re Metallica*, but also *Bermannus*, a sort of miners' catechism;

De Ortu et Causis Subterraneorum, the first work on physical geology; *De Natura eorum quae effluunt ex Terra*, a treatise on subterranean waters and gases; *De Natura Fossilium*, the first systematic mineralogy; and *De Animantibus Subterraneis*, an account of animals living under ground; and many other publications of less importance. In other departments he published *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, a discussion of Greek and Roman weights and measures; *De Peste*, an essay on the plague; and a pamphlet inspired by the Turkish siege of Vienna in 1529, and urging the extermination of the Turks by European powers, which passed through many editions. The leisure for these numerous undertakings, and possibly also the means for paying the printer, may have come from his interest in a rich silver-mine, discovered in 1530, for the continuous dividends from which he records in 1545 his gratitude to God. It is known also that he was employed (and doubtless paid) as a consulting engineer.

But besides all this literary and professional activity, Agricola occupied a singular position in religion and politics. Sympathizing at first with the reformers, he refused to accept the Lutheran revolt, and remained to the end a stanch Catholic, urging even upon his patron, the belligerent Protestant Duke Maurice of Saxony, a return to the bosom of the Church. Yet, so great was the esteem and confidence inspired by his personal character that he was appointed by that same duke burgo-master of the Protestant city of Chemnitz, and held that office for four terms, besides serving on sundry occasions as a diplomatic adviser or representative of the government.

In the sphere which was specially his own, Agricola did as much as any other man to clear away the rubbish of tradition, superstition, and alchemy, and to lay the foundations of modern geology, mineralogy, and metallurgy. His work and his character alike mark him as truly great. Fame is not merely merit, but merit recognized by many men; and Mr. and Mrs. Hoover may well find their greatest satisfaction in the knowledge that they have contributed in no small degree to such a reward for illustrious service.¹

Special mention should be made in conclusion, of the abundant foot-notes with which this translation has been enriched. They were not strictly necessary to the translation itself; but they are precious and welcome guides to the student of medieval science.

ROSSITER W. RAYMOND.

Les Origines Politiques des Guerres de Religion. Par LUCIEN ROMIER. Tome I. *Henri II. et l'Italie (1547-1555)*. (Paris: Perrin et Cie. 1913. Pp. ix, 577.)

THIS book is what might be expected from the author of *Jacques d'Albon de Saint André, Maréchal de France* (Paris, 1909). It is the

¹ In recognition of their work in translating and publishing this treatise the first gold medal awarded by the Mining and Metallurgical Society of America was awarded to Mr. and Mrs. Hoover at a dinner of the society held in New York on March 9. Ed.

result of studies among unedited documents at Paris, Lyons, Turin, Milan, Venice, Mantua, Parma, Modena, Genoa, Bologna, Lucca, Florence, Sienna, Rome, Naples, Malta, Innsbruck, Vienna, Corsica, and the little cities of Piedmont and Tuscany.

The author has set before himself a very distinct object. He points out that the date 1559 marks, in the history of France and, to some extent, in the history of Europe, a brusque transition. The wars of Italy—foreign wars—end and the Wars of Religion—civil wars—begin. Habsburg and Valois no longer use their resources in dynastic rivalry. They are compelled to use them in retaining their power in their own states. Without denying the importance of moral and intellectual elements as causes of the Wars of Religion, he hopes to find in those *military and diplomatic facts some of the reasons why "the militant Reformation so suddenly took the place of the suffering Reformation"*.

He calls the reign of Henry II. "the knotty point of the sixteenth century" and then proceeds to study very minutely its military and diplomatic history. In four chapters of the first book he sketches the elements which conditioned the Italian wars—the king, the Montmorencies and Guises, the Cardinal-Protectors, and the Italian exiles. He has the power of bold portraiture based on contemporary reports and free from the influence of traditional ideas. He draws a picture of the king which is living, even though it is possible to dissent from the judgment that he was "un homme ordinaire". Mr. Romier affords us himself the means of dissenting from this judgment, for instance the fact that Henry II., like Elizabeth, kept at his council-board men of opposed opinions, his preference for fighting on the northern border rather than in Italy, and the fact that he planned the taking of Calais, which can be supported not only by the citations used by Mr. Romier but directly by the contemporary ode of Michel de l'Hospital and with explicit details by the manuscript "*Mémoires de l'État des Affaires de France sous la Fin du Regne de Henri II.*" (Bib. Nat., Cinq Cents de Colbert, XXVI.).

Henry's war with the pope in defense of the Farnese is then described in the three chapters of book II. Book III. in four chapters sketches the disastrous attempt of France to act as protector of Sienna in its revolt against Spain. Book IV. gives a brief but brilliant description of the circumstances which preceded the truce of Vaucelles, that glorious peace which confirmed France's possession of a long list of Italian conquests. Book V., not the least valuable, describes the French administration of Sienna and of Piedmont, some of whose peasants, as the writer learned this summer, cast wistful eyes backward through the centuries to the time when they were French.

The first two books of the second volume describe the causes and the outcome of the expedition of Guise against Naples. As against the recent contention of Mr. Courteault that the idea that the expedition was intended originally to conquer Naples, is "a false tradition invented by the Protestant polemics of the sixteenth century", Mr. Romier shows

conclusively that it was so regarded by a number of contemporary writers and correspondents whose orthodoxy cannot be doubted.

The third book shows how the King of France definitely turned his arms from the Alps toward the sea and describes the Entry of the French Reform upon the Field of Politics. The fourth book describes the Reconciliation of the Catholic Dynasties in the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis and the Death of Henry II. The fifth book, the Retreat from beyond the Mountains, describes the Fall of the Republic of Montalcino and the Marriage of Savoy. It is difficult to follow the conclusion of the author that the defeat of St. Quentin, revealing to Henry II. the germs of anarchy in his own states and the international danger of heresy, turned him into a persecutor. Not to mention many other reasons against this conclusion Mr. Romier himself points out (p. 245) that fifteen days before St. Quentin the king issued two edicts instituting the "inquisitors of the faith" and ordered the punishment without mercy of those "obstinate in bad opinions about the faith".

The author's statement that "the French Protestants even after the nobles had invaded their congregations never presented to the government any demands except ones concerning worship or religion" is true. But at least two considerations make us hesitate to argue that "the origins of the French Reform were religious, intellectual, economic but not in the least degree political". The Estates of Pontoise met on the verge of the outbreak of the civil war. Huguenot sentiment was manifestly very strong in it and it was dominated more by Coligny than by any other person, but the Cahier of the Noblesse contains a very extraordinary series of political demands: no similar ideas had been heard in France since the Estates General of Tours. When the Massacre of St. Bartholomew had freed the Huguenots from their reverence for a king who murdered his vassals, while guests in his own palace, a flood of daring political ideas poured from Huguenot pens. They were not formed in a night. These considerations raise the question whether the phrase "nullement d'ordre politique" applied to the origins of the French Reform is not too strong. So also in reading "the first armed movements were caused by economic rather than religious causes", one is reminded of Hauser's comment on the sixteenth-century Italian historians of the Wars of Religion who are wont to see in it "Un pende tout sauf religion".

If any unfavorable criticism is to be passed on this scholarly and successful book it would be the slight one that occasionally there is a little too much of it. The writer has discovered so much that is new and valuable in the archives he has visited that he has not been able to escape altogether the besetting temptation of men who really write from manuscript sources, the temptation to give superfluous details. We do not need to know the itinerary of the Cardinal d'Este, "the Cardinal Protector" of France, on his journey to Rome, his various dwelling-places in the Eternal City, nor the names of the chief guests at his great banquet. On page 369 of volume I. there is a paragraph of fifty-six

words of which twenty-six tell us facts that needed no further record than the one Mr. Romier's industry found in the private letters he cites from the archives of Naples, Modena, and Sienna. The main lines of his brilliant narrative would come out more strongly if he suppressed these details, which have a perfectly legitimate place in correspondence, are admissible sparingly in biography, but really are hardly worthy of record in the history of so weighty a matter as the "Political Origins of the Wars of Religion".

All differences of opinion on separate points aside, it is evident Mr. Romier has made known a large mass of new and valuable material and produced a book which every student of the reign of Henry II. must read.

PAUL VAN DYKE.

Lollardy and the Reformation in England: an Historical Survey.

By JAMES GAIRDNER, C.B., LL.D., D.Litt. Edited by WILLIAM HUNT, M.A., D.Litt. • Volume IV. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1913. Pp. xiv, 422.)

WHEN Dr. Gairdner began, at the age of seventy-seven, to write his history of *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, it was his intention to carry the story down to the excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570, as the event marking the final separation of the Church of England from Rome. Had he adhered to the dimensions adopted for the first two volumes, it is possible that his aim might have been accomplished; but from the very outset the work grew under his hand to such an extent that he realized, some time before the close of his life, that his *magnum opus* would inevitably remain unfinished. He lived to see the publication of the third volume, which covers the entire reign of Edward VI.; the fourth, which lies before us, and which treats only of the first year of the reign of Mary, was left in manuscript, in an unfinished state, when death overtook him on November 4, 1912. In fulfillment of a promise made several years before, his friend, Dr. William Hunt, has now revised, amplified, and published this manuscript, thus bringing the story to an end with the marriage of Philip and Mary. It will be evident to every reader that the work of the editor has been one of unusual difficulty. Fairness to Dr. Gairdner demanded the preservation, with religious care, of the exact import of every sentence that he wrote; on the other hand, a number of verbal alterations, and the excision of passages more or less repeated, were necessitated by the fact that the author's powers were clearly failing at the time that the manuscript was composed. These two laborious, and at times almost incongruous, duties, Dr. Hunt has performed with the utmost skill and success; whenever addition or alteration has been necessary he has been careful to distinguish between Dr. Gairdner's words and his own, by the use of square brackets. Clearly the work of the editor has been a labor of love, and the manner of its accomplishment is a truly beautiful tribute to the depth and power of scholarly solidarity and friendship.

The accuracy and range of Dr. Gairdner's knowledge of the sources, as well as the strong clerical bias with which all his later works were tinged, are too well known to need further emphasis here.¹ It is pleasant to be able to testify that in the present volume, the first rather than the second of these two characteristics is on the whole the more prominent. Whether it is due to the fact that with the reign of Mary the party with which he sympathized is in power; or to the moderating influence of Dr. Hunt's editorial labors, or to the fact that increasing age brought with it increasing charity of judgment—it is certain that in the present volume the author does not give the impression of being possessed with the same overpowering desire to vilify heresy and heretics, which disfigured certain portions of its predecessors. Not that the reader is left in any doubt as to where Dr. Gairdner's sympathies lie: but other things are not sacrificed to the expression of them: one feels that one is perusing here, not a piece of special pleading, but a careful, detailed story of a most complicated year, by a recognized master, whose opinion, even if one cannot agree with it, always demands careful and respectful consideration. The theory of the continuity of heresy, which loomed so large in the earlier pages of the book, is suffered to fall into the background here: the aim of the author seems rather to have been to emphasize the indubitable virtues of Queen Mary and her adherents, than to objugate Foxe and his heroes. In cases where there is doubt as to whether religious or political considerations have been the determining factors, Dr. Gairdner is certainly not always convincing; he tends always to over-emphasize the one when Catholic acts are concerned, but reverses the process when judging the deeds of the Protestants. But even in this respect, the present volume is an improvement on the predecessors. In this connection it is worth while to call attention to a foot-note appended by the editor to an excerpt from Dr. Gairdner's earlier work—*The English Church in the Sixteenth Century* (1903), which Dr. Hunt has borrowed to form the final paragraph of the present volume. In the passage in question Dr. Gairdner spoke of the marriage of Philip and Mary as a "political marriage entered into on both sides from a desire to bring an erring nation back into the unity of Christendom". And Dr. Hunt comments editorially: "Dr. Gairdner would not have written thus in 1912: as this volume shows, he had then come to see that on the Emperor's side the security of the Netherlands was a far more powerful motive than desire for the re-conversion of England."

Lastly, the present volume has a very considerable advantage over its predecessors, in that it covers a much smaller field, and is therefore far more minute and detailed. The story of the first year of Queen Mary's reign will probably never be told again with greater thoroughness. The fact that the earlier installments of Dr. Gairdner's book were written, not only from a somewhat similar standpoint, but also on a similar scale to that of Dixon's *History of the Church of England*,

¹ Cf. the notices of the previous volumes of the present work in vol. XIV., pp. 573-574 and vol. XVII., pp. 366-367 of this journal.

militated seriously against their value and originality; but here the proportions are very different, and the author's unrivalled knowledge of the sources has a far more favorable opportunity to display itself. Dr. Gairdner's name will live for many years as a model for archivists and annalists. It is safe to say that the fourth volume of *Lollardy and the Reformation of England* will leave his reputation as an historian at a higher point than did its predecessors.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

The Archbishops of St. Andrews. By JOHN HERKLESS, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of St. Andrews, and ROBERT KERR HANNAY. Volume IV. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1913. Pp. 252.)

THIS history of the archbishops of St. Andrews continues on its course with true Scottish steadiness. The present volume, the fourth, consists of a life of David Beaton. He was the only Scottish ecclesiastic to attain the coveted rank of cardinal and may in this sense be accounted the most conspicuous of the great Scottish churchmen. But even he owed his dignity less to his own services than to the exigencies of politics. He became a cardinal in 1538. A few years earlier Henry VIII. of England had defied the pope. It was important to hold Scotland to the cause of Rome and Beaton was made a cardinal that the Scottish Church might have rank and authority to strengthen it against disintegrating influences from England.

Beaton himself played steadily the game of the see of Rome and carried out the policy of crushing pitilessly the Reformation movement. He coerced opinion, persecuted preachers, burnt heretics. But he was pitted against a John Knox and he found his path thorny. The Scottish history of the time is a complex record of inglorious intrigue. England threw her influence against the court and church party in Scotland while France supported them. England warred on Scotland and the crushing defeat at Solway Moss in which King James of Scotland lost his life might well have led to a triumph of English influence.

But the Scots are a stiff-necked people. The marriage of the young Queen Mary to Henry VIII.'s son Edward would have united the two crowns. But this the Scots would not have. Beaton was the real ruler of Scotland at this juncture and, for good or ill, he defeated English plans and threw Scotland more than ever into the arms of France. Present-day visitors to the little university city of St. Andrews are shown the grey ruins of the old castle perched on rocks at whose base the waters of the North Sea beat in almost ceaseless unrest. The castle was the scene of one of the great tragic events in Scottish history. Here on a May day in 1547 Beaton was murdered by conspirators whose motive was revenge for the burning of the Protestant, George Wishart. John Knox records the details of the murder with something like a glow of enthusiasm. It was out of these stern passions that Scotland's intolerant Presbyterianism was born.

Mr. Herkless, who is not merely a professor at St. Andrews but also provost of the city, tells his story with no touch of imaginative insight or dramatic skill. Yet Beaton is a figure worthy of striking portrayal. Though he was the celibate leader of the Scottish Church, he yet had at least eleven sons and also, it is said, six daughters, each of them by a different mother. Most of the sons and daughters were legitimated. Beaton knew no shame in regard to his children. One at least of his daughters was married in his presence with great pomp and was heavily dowered by her father. His children married into the best Scottish families and Beaton's blood still runs strong in the nobility of Scotland. It is a strange tale, in the light of our present-day thought. We have in this volume the facts laboriously and accurately compiled from original authorities but we have not the magic quality that would make of such a story living history.

Select Charters of Trading Companies, A. D. 1530-1707. Edited for the Selden Society by CECIL T. CARR. [Publications of the Selden Society, vol. XXVIII.] (London: Bernard Quaritch. 1913. Pp. cxxxvi, 322.)

The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720. By WILLIAM ROBERT SCOTT, M.A., D.Phil., Litt.D., Lecturer in Political Economy, University of St. Andrews. Volume I. *The General Development of the Joint-Stock System to 1720.* (Cambridge: The University Press. 1912. Pp. lvi, 38.)

It is a gratifying indication of the advancing interest in English economic history when two important works so nearly in the same field, the one devoted primarily to making accessible the sources of knowledge, the other to their interpretation, appear practically simultaneously. Mr. Carr's volume in the Selden Society, however, like its predecessors in that series, is by no means merely a reprint of documents. An introduction of more than a hundred pages forms an essay on the growth of incorporated companies comparable with Professor Maitland's classic treatises on various phases of the law in the early volumes of that society's publications. Nevertheless the original material is its most characteristic content. The forty-one charters are all drawn from the Patent Rolls and all printed here for the first time. In addition Mr. Carr gives information concerning the places where a large number of other charters are to be found in print. As usual among English writers, he is deficient in his knowledge of work done in America, and fails to note the Staplers' charters of 1561 and 1617 printed in Jenckes's *The Staple of England*, and the large extracts from the charters of the Merchants Adventurers printed in Lingelbach's *The Merchants Adventurers of England*. But these are relatively small omissions and with the guidance given in this volume a student can now do what was practically impossible a few years ago, obtain a general conspectus of the whole body

of fundamental material needed for an understanding, so far as it can be found from their charters, of the exploring, trading, manufacturing, and colonizing companies which were so characteristic a feature of the period from the middle of the sixteenth century to the second quarter of the eighteenth.

The first of the charters here printed is that of the merchants trading to Spain and Portugal, granted in 1530, a company whose history has been particularly obscure. This grant became the immediate model for later patents to the same company and to the merchants trading to France, and not improbably for still other early charters. Since so many charters of the larger commercial and plantation companies have been already printed, those chosen for this volume are predominantly of companies for mining, manufacturing, fishing, and similar purposes; but various supplementary or previously neglected grants to the Muscovy, Levant, Newfoundland, and African companies are included. The series is closed with two charters of the reign of Queen Anne, one for an insurance company, the other for a pawnbroking society organized for philanthropic purposes.

Among the interesting and relatively unfamiliar points brought out in Mr. Carr's introduction are the gradual and cumulative and so to speak experimental progress of the device of incorporation for bodies of this sort. Religious, charitable, educational, and municipal bodies were early treated as corporations, but the growth of the same conception in connection with industrial or trading groups seems to have begun only with the grant of powers of self-government to certain groups of merchants in 1391, attaining practical completeness by the reign of Elizabeth. Companies for distant trade were the most interesting forms of this incorporation and the series here published, beginning with the charter of the Muscovy Company in 1555, covers a geographical extent which spreads from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from the coast of America to the East Indies. The narrative of the history of these companies cannot all be drawn, however, from these documents, and in that part of it which depends on other sources there is much that is uncertain and much that is obscure. Mr. Carr's account of the formation of the Eastland Company is an instance of the former, of the early days of the Levant Company an instance of the latter. On the other hand, his description of the gradual identification of the position of member with that of stockholder in the East India Company is especially illuminating. Incorporation in the case of manufacturing and trading companies ran easily into monopolies and the history of one movement leads Mr. Carr naturally into a rather full account of the other.

In the later seventeenth century there was an obvious tendency to extend certain corporations beyond the object for which they were originally intended; mining companies being combined with lotteries, banks, insurance companies, and public charities; proposals being made to unite fishing companies with the monopoly of the minting of small coins and the farm of the tobacco and salt duties. The Hollow Sword

Blade Company owned lands in Ireland and carried on banking in London, besides still other interests. But the shadow of the period of South Sea Company speculation was by the time these companies were organized already falling on the country and giving to the companies an abnormal growth. It is of interest to note that insurance was in the beginning, as it bids fair to be in the end, looked upon as a matter naturally belonging in the sphere of governmental activity, rather than in that of private enterprise, as was notably true also of the water supply of towns. It seems to have been rather a matter of chance that such public concerns fell eventually into the hands of private investors and that this condition of affairs was long looked upon as normal, if not necessary.

Many of the same points as are treated in Mr. Carr's introduction are discussed at still further length and with greater fullness, though from a different point of view, in Professor Scott's *Joint-Stock Companies*. The second and third volumes of this work, which were the first to appear, have already been reviewed in this journal (XVI. 604; XVII. 370). The ingenious plan of leaving the publication of the first volume till after the completion of the other two, if somewhat perplexing to the reader, gives the author the opportunity to draw upon an immense amount of detail in making the generalizations that are the special interest and value of this volume. In estimating the work, which is now completed, advantage must be taken of the opportunity to state that as a whole it is a work of unusual erudition, originality, and value. No such large body of widely sought facts has heretofore been brought together for the elucidation of any single problem of economic history. Professor Scott's constructive ability has moreover been equal to the task of utilizing these materials in making a continuous, logical, and interesting narrative.

The most notable characteristic of this narrative is its statement and description of a series of alternating periods of financial activity and depression analogous to those already familiar in later ages. These periods of prosperity and crisis are brought out by skillfully weaving the history of government finances in with that of the joint-stock companies, as one after another they obtained their charters and engaged in trade, and with the history of privateering and other characteristic forms of contemporary speculation. The proceeds of the subsidies granted by Parliament, of the loans negotiated by Gresham in the Netherlands, and of the ordinary revenue from customs and crown property are ingeniously combined with the amount of dividends earned by the joint-stock companies and with the plunder brought home from the seas by Drake and Cumberland, to show how much capital was in the country and how profitably or unprofitably it was employed. Thus a succession of crises or depressions in 1569-1574, 1587-1603, 1620-1625, and at similar intervals alternated with intervening periods of prosperity, according to Mr. Scott's interpretation, until the series, so far as this work is concerned, culminated in the South Sea boom and its collapse

in 1720. This outline of events furnishes a convenient thread upon which to arrange the occurrences and conditions that Mr. Scott is interested in describing. It possesses unity, impressiveness, and interest. But we do not find the evidence for its correctness entirely convincing. We have a haunting feeling that, during the early periods at least, the same material could be rearranged in such a way as to reverse the periods of crisis and prosperity, and yet not impugn the truth of any of Mr. Scott's actual statements of concrete fact. Since this review will be read by historians rather than economists it may perhaps be said without offense that some of the reasoning in Mr. Scott's work is rigorous enough to suit economists, but not to suit historians. The proof given for the disposition of Drake's plunder brought home in 1580, as given on pages 78-82, is too tenuous to be safely used, as it later is, as one link in a chain of reasoning. It is ingenious, interesting, and may be correct, but it is certainly not unquestionable. There is besides a constant tendency to rely on the financial interpretation of events which may well be explained in other ways. The crisis of 1569-1574 is given a much larger influence in the advance of English privateering against Spain than the narrative itself justifies. Elizabeth's decisions are often attributed to financial motives when this explanation is readily disproved by the fact that she accepted the same policy somewhat later, usually too late, as in the case of the fall of Antwerp. A queen's vacillating disposition is just as truly an historical influence as the condition of the money-market. The whole statement of the reasons for the parliamentary action in favor of the Muscovy Company in 1566, given on page 35, is supposititious. It may or may not be correct, but no authority exists for it; and it is to be remembered that the council had already taken the same action in 1564 and the Court of Admiralty gave a similar decision in 1572.

This tendency to give to events a purely financial explanation, and to arrange them in a sequence that is not, to say the least, obviously justified, are perhaps small criticisms of a work of such solidity. The somewhat bizarre method of punctuation is a still smaller one. Everything else is of the best. Index, bibliography, foot-notes, tables, print, and paper are all clear, adequate, and valuable. Interspersed among the chapters devoted to the narratives of these periods of prosperity and decline are valuable descriptive chapters devoted to important aspects of the development of joint-stock companies: their origin, the legislation on monopolies, their exploitation by the crown, and their position in a general philosophic scheme. This concluding volume, following on its two notable predecessors, establishes in full security the position of Professor Scott's work as the standard work in the field, and it is hard to see how it can at any early period be superseded.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson. Edited, with a commentary drawn from the State Papers and other original Sources, by M. OPPENHEIM. Volumes III., IV. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vols. XLIII., XLV.] (London: The Navy Records Society. 1913. Pp. x, 443; x, 442.)

Of the essential qualifications for writing an account of the navy and naval affairs under Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., Sir William Monson possessed two in eminent degree. He lived long and in the centre of events. Born in the tenth year of Elizabeth's reign he lived to see Charles I. at war with Parliament. Escaping from the life of an Oxford undergraduate to the deck of a privateer at the age of sixteen, two years later he commanded a ship of his own, and within a twelve-month served as a volunteer on the queen's pinnace against the Armada. Thenceforth he took an active part in those expeditions by which, so long as she lived, Elizabeth waged retributive warfare against Spain; and on her death he was commissioned Admiral of the Narrow Seas by her successor. Driven from his place by the charge that he received a Spanish pension, sent to the Tower for alleged complicity in the Overbury poisoning case, and finally losing his sovereign's favor entirely by implication in a project to supersede the Duke of Buckingham in James's affections by Monson's son, he saw service but once again, and that but briefly, as vice-admiral of the fleet raised by Charles I. with ship-money. To this retirement we owe, in considerable part at least, the six books of *Naval Tracts* on which whatever fame he has must rest; and, as the first English seaman to write at any length on naval affairs, he occupies an eminent place in the literature of that service. His writings, preserved in manuscript and passed from hand to hand for nearly three generations after his death, did not find their way into print until the dangers from Holland and Spain, with which they were largely concerned, were past; and it was almost precisely two hundred years after their appearance as part of Churchill's *Voyages* at the beginning of the eighteenth century that the Navy Records Society some ten years ago undertook their publication under Mr. Oppenheim's editorship. At that time only the first two volumes, with long and elaborate introduction and notes, appeared. Now, after so long an interval, we have two more, without introduction and with few notes as compared with the two earlier volumes, but with appendixes consisting of extracts from state papers enlarging and illustrating the statements in the text. We still have to expect what to seventeenth-century minds at least, and in no small measure to-day, is the most interesting and valuable part of his writings, the famous Book of Stratagems. The present volumes are chiefly concerned with the historical and geographical aspects of naval affairs between 1604 and 1636; the organization, customs, and duties of the navy and its officers during this period; and the historical sketches of early Spanish, Portuguese, and English explorers and conquerors, with digressions on the state of trade, navigation, colonization, and geo-

graphical knowledge. Of these the last, save for sidelights on Monson's contemporaries, is perhaps the least important; and, save for the naval antiquarian, the third book is of little more value. The principal additions to knowledge are the supplementary items of information he contributes to the details of expeditions in which he took part or of which he knew, and these have, of course, been long available. What is really new lies in the appendixes, and for these the student of the period must be grateful. When the two succeeding volumes appear, and one may venture to hope it may be soon, we shall have for the first time, in convenient form, one of the most interesting of Elizabethan and Jacobean documents; and one of not merely naval interest. Whatever changes were made by his earlier editor, however little his style appealed to that unknown reviser and his character to Mr. Oppenheim, literature has too long neglected one of the most entertaining volumes of the seventeenth century. Dedications, character sketches, moral reflections scattered throughout among stories of adventure and the dry detail of naval management, provide the patient reader with a real treasury of entertainment no less than knowledge; and the literary no less than the naval historian owes to the Navy Records Society a debt of gratitude not less profound because it is not often realized.

W. C. ABBOTT.

Ireland under the Commonwealth: being a Selection of Documents relating to the Government of Ireland from 1651 to 1659.

Edited, with Historical Introduction and Notes, by ROBERT DUNLOP, M.A. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XVII.] (Manchester: The University Press. 1913. Pp. clxxvi, 282; lxxviii, 283-753.)

Nor many phenomena in the world of history are more remarkable than the relatively recent discovery of Ireland by the historians. The older work of D'Alton and Prendergast, the many documentary publications, Miss Hickson's essay, with those of Litton Falkiner, Bonn's study of colonization, Mrs. Green's philippic, Bagwell, and now Wilson, have supplemented and enlarged the work of Gardiner and Lecky, and led the way to cultivation of what has proved a fertile field for many workers. In this distinguished list the present volumes must take high place, no less for the important original material they contain than for the excellent essay by which that material is introduced. No one who has read the notes and reviews of books on Irish history by the editor of these documents, which run back through many years of the *English Historical Review*, can fail to recognize his eminent fitness to write such a sketch of Anglo-Irish relations under the Tudors, the early Stuarts, and Cromwell. Covering virtually the same ground as Bagwell's volumes it forms an admirable commentary on the results of that work; and within such compass it is the clearest and most instructive essay on English policy toward Ireland in that eventful period. The conclusion which Mr.

Dunlop has drawn from his years of study is, indeed, not new. "The Rebellion", he writes, "presented itself to me as an episode in the great European struggle between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, in which England and Ireland found themselves in opposite camps, accentuated by the special difference between them in the matter of legislative independence claimed by Ireland and denied by England . . . that the crash came precisely when it did was largely an accident"; and "only by the extirpation of the whole Catholic population", could the "relapse into Popery have been prevented". This was not to be. "To turn back the clock of history was impossible. England had once had her chance to minister to the spiritual needs of the Irish. She had neglected it and the opportunity was never to occur again." A vast deal of investigation and controversy has run under the bridge since Macaulay wrote; yet if one compares this with his words on this same subject, despite the discovery of masses of source material since his time, and years of scholarly effort, no two opinions could well be more alike. It is much to have such confirmatory evidence of an opinion whose ramifications extend in so many directions and have been so often denied or distorted.

The documents themselves, transcribed, the editor tells us, many years ago as part of a collection made in preparation for a history of the Commonwealth in Ireland, which unfortunately was not written, begin with the instructions to Ludlow and the Parliamentary Commissioners in July, 1651, and end with "an order prohibiting the observance of superstitious Christmas holidays" of December, 1659. They are drawn from a variety of sources, the Commonwealth Records, the Depositions relating to the Massacres, copies of the Commissioners' letters, and like material preserved in the Public Record Office and the library of Trinity College, Dublin. They include almost every variety of testimony, chiefly, however, official, regarding the English occupation, conquest, policy, and practice in Ireland during those eventful years; and comprise, as the editor observes, "a fairly complete record of all that is likely to prove of value to a student of the period"; at least, one may qualify slightly, on the political side. Students of the period have, indeed, already made use of the sources whence these extracts were drawn. They were discovered by Prendergast, who wrote chiefly from them his *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*; and these very transcripts made by Mr. Dunlop were used by Professor Gardiner as the basis of much of his later volumes. So far as can be observed from his foot-notes Mr. Bagwell has used only one of the items, the instructions of March 19, 1654-1655 (A 26) and possibly two other notes. Yet though Prendergast and Gardiner have pretty well covered the field between them there yet remains in this collection, which both of them used, no small amount of material which later gleaners, attacking the problem from a still different angle than politics or its reverse side, religion, will find of value; as well as that which will enable them to check more closely their predecessors' work. Certainly any one who pretends to knowledge of

the period must hereafter take full account of these volumes. They add new distinction to the increasingly important list of historical contributions which justify the existence of the University of Manchester historical series to a degree not often equalled by similar enterprises.

W. C. ABBOTT.

The History of England from the Accession of James the Second.

By LORD MACAULAY. Edited by CHARLES HARDING FIRTH, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, University of Oxford. In six volumes. Volume I. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1913. Pp. xxxvi, 516.)

It seems not merely "surprising", as Professor Firth observes, that no illustrated edition of Macaulay's *History of England* has hitherto been issued. When one considers that since the appearance of its first two volumes some sixty-five years ago Macaulay's *History* has been, if not the most admired, almost certainly the most widely read historical work in the English language; that in this same period the art of illustration has been revolutionized; and that it has been so lavishly applied to so many books so much less worth while, it seems incredible that a work whose picturesque quality invites to illustration should have gone so long unadorned. That there is a demand for pictures the many reprints of Lodge, the Oxford historical portraits, the beautiful Goupil Stuart series, Green, Traill, and a host of minor publications seem to prove; and it is the more curious that the two most eminent of English historians, all things considered, should have been so neglected. It may be that the publishers have thought that good history needed no pictures; or that there may linger in some quarters a feeling that scholarship and literature do not go hand in hand with illustration; or that learning unadorned is adorned the most. Whatever the cause the result has been unfortunate and the publishers are to be congratulated on this most interesting venture, and on the appearance of its initial volume.

Such a work as this must be judged by two standards, the one editorial, the other pictorial. From the first, despite the announcement, we are at present barred; since it appears that whatever notes are to be contributed by Professor Firth to the elucidation or correction of Macaulay's text are to be confined to a final and apparently a separate volume, and not inserted at the point to which they refer. Whatever may be thought of this as an editorial device, it effectually suspends judgment till the work is complete. We are thrown back, therefore, on the illustrations. The danger always is that such books as this may fall into the error of pure decoration or even mere prettiness. Against this error the enlisting of Professor Firth and his capable associates and assistants has been a sufficient guarantee. From the Sutherland Collection in the Bodleian Library, from the National Portrait Gallery, the British Museum, the Pepys Collection, and a large number of other sources has been brought together an extraordinary number of interest-

ing illustrations which actually illustrate the text. Portraits, caricatures, autographs, reproductions of broadsides, maps, plans, views, make up the list. It is perhaps natural that a work which concerns itself so largely with personalities should lean toward portraiture. More than half of the illustrations in this first volume—and this does not reckon caricatures—are portraits; and this in spite of the fact that we have here the third chapter, whose illustration depends almost wholly on maps and views. Not so abundantly illustrated as the publication with which one naturally compares it, Green's *Short History*, the present edition, therefore, seems to lie somewhere between such a work as that and the volumes of pure portraiture. No two persons in the world would ever agree exactly on what should be included or emphasized in such a collection, and it would be useless, in consequence, therefore, even to indicate what might have been omitted or put in. The beautiful execution of the colored plates makes one long for more; the splendid color of the Jeffreys would perhaps warrant the exclusion of other figures; but from a decorative and even, perhaps, an historical standpoint one might be reconciled to sparing Wren for a better portrait of a greater man. Yet, when all is said, this new edition is not merely sumptuous, it is satisfactory. To the admirer of Macaulay it is something more, for it can have no higher praise than to say the illustrations are worthy of the text; and there will be many who, like the reviewer, will doubtless look forward to the quarterly appearance of this splendid book with eager anticipation.

W. C. A.

Preussens Staatsverträge aus der Regierungszeit König Friedrich Wilhelms I. Herausgegeben von Dr. VICTOR LOEWE, Kgl. Archivar. [Publikationen aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven, siebenundachtzigster Band.] (Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1913. Pp. xiv, 499.)

In 1867 Dr. Theodor von Moerner published a volume entitled *Kurbrandenburgs Staatsverträge von 1601 bis 1700*, mostly made up of summaries of treaties but including some texts. In 1878 it was announced that the administration of the Prussian State Archives would continue von Moerner's work by publishing the treaties to which Prussia was a party in the eighteenth century. This promise is partially fulfilled by Dr. Loewe's edition of Prussian treaties of the reign of King Frederick William I. (1713-1740). We can perhaps best estimate Dr. Loewe's volume by comparing it with other editions of similar texts.

The best general collections of treaties, such as J. Dumont's *Corps Universel Diplomatique*, are far from satisfying the needs of historians. Dumont, for example, omits a great many treaties, prints others in translation or without their separate or secret articles, or so imperfectly that none of his texts can be depended upon as verbatim reproductions of the originals. Many of the national collections of treaties are more

satisfactory. In these the texts are usually arranged in one of two ways—either in one chronological order throughout, or else the treaties concluded with each several nation are brought together into a group, chronologically arranged. The best collections include exact and complete texts, taken, if possible, from the original manuscript treaty, bearing the signatures of the plenipotentiaries. As a rule they state the place and time of the ratification of treaties; the archives where manuscript texts are preserved; and, in some cases, give references to, or a selection from, pertinent state papers. Several of the best collections also include historical introductions, which, as in F. Martens's *Recueil des Traités conclus par la Russie*, or the Austrian treaties published by the Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Oesterreichs, form an important contribution to historical literature and enormously enhance the usefulness of the collection.

Among these national collections, Dr. Loewe's volume must be assigned a very high but not the highest place. The plan of the book—for which the editor is probably not responsible—seems less excellent than that adopted in the Austrian and Russian series mentioned above. In both these series, treaties are grouped according to the countries with which they were concluded; in the Prussian volume all the treaties dating from one reign are arranged chronologically. This latter is indeed the natural order, but in a collection of this kind, is less manageable editorially. Thus the editor of a volume of topographically arranged treaties needs to examine state papers in the archives of only one foreign country; whereas the editor of a strictly chronological series must visit many foreign archives—or none. The only manuscript materials used by Dr. Loewe for his historical introductions are the state papers in the Privy State Archives at Berlin. His longer introductions, prefacing the most important treaties, are excellent; but some of the shorter ones are so compressed that they tend to become little more than juiceless statements of the dates of the presentation of drafts and counterdrafts, and other important stages of the negotiations. There are no introductions to the postal treaties or to some others of greater interest. Altogether the introductions form only one-tenth of the book instead of about one-half as in Pribram's volume of treaties between Austria and England.

But although not the best of its kind, Dr. Loewe's book ranks among the best. He has brought together a practically complete series of the texts of public treaties concluded by Prussia between 1713 and 1739, including postal treaties, cartels, some treaties with private persons, and at least one with a foreign company—the Dutch West India Company (no. 44). Of his 108 documents only forty were, it is believed, already in print. He indicates where any of his texts have been previously published, and, briefly, the literature that explains their purport; he refers to related state papers in the Privy State Archives at Berlin, and adds valuable notes, many drawn from these state papers. His book is a serviceable instrument, for which students of the diplomatic and political history of the period will be grateful.

F. G. DAVENPORT.

The Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. By BASIL WILLIAMS.

In two volumes. (London, New York, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1913. Pp. x, 408; vi, 421.)

It would be interesting to inquire why so much attention has recently been given to the elder Pitt after a century of comparative neglect. May not the explanation partly be that whereas Pitt was a Liberal and an Imperialist, Imperialists during the nineteenth century have rarely been Liberals while Liberals have mostly renounced empire? The man who wished to maintain the old colonial system and yet rejoiced that America had resisted, could not but be half jingo to all who were of the Manchester way of thinking, and half demagogue to the hard-shell Tories who voted with the Duke of Wellington or the soft kind who took their political philosophy from Disraeli. But in recent years, both in England and in this country, a kind of nexus has been formed between Liberalism and Imperialism; and now that Americans find it possible to defend the Navigation Acts, and Englishmen make nothing of justifying the revolt of the colonies, it would be strange indeed if there was none to relate the deeds of Chatham. Mr. Williams, regarding his subject from this new point of view, finds it unnecessary to disparage either the war minister or the Great Commoner: it was a great thing to have won an empire; but the greater glory was "to have united a people", and to have formulated the "principles on which all states must be successfully governed, the principles of justice and true wisdom".

Yet Mr. Williams's reverence for Pitt never seduces him into panegyric. He tells a round, unvarnished tale, without brilliance of style indeed, but clearly and effectively, in judicial temper, and with scrupulous accuracy in matters of fact. The soundness of his scholarship cannot be doubted. Apart from the German archives, he knows the manuscript sources quite as well as Albert von Ruville; the printed sources he knows better; and he is more familiar with English custom and English character. If it were only a matter of what Pitt said and did; Dr. von Ruville's book would have made Mr. Williams's work superfluous. Happily, both writers are concerned with motive as well as with action; and in the interpretation of motive they differ fundamentally. "In all cases", says von Ruville, with a lack of qualification which his book does not always support indeed, Pitt's "objects were eminently practical and selfish; he supported everything that could help his plans and opposed all that thwarted them". For Mr. Williams, on the contrary, Pitt was a man, if ever there was one, of lofty and disinterested patriotism, a man who, in office and out, subordinated personal ambition to the welfare of England.

The satisfactory resolution of this antinomy would doubtless require an excursion into the psychology of motive. However that may be, we need not deny, since he did not deny it himself, that Pitt was ambitious for office, or that when in office he advocated measures which he had uncompromisingly denounced while in opposition. But if it be true that

he made office the first object and deliberately assumed or laid off political convictions in order to get it, it is clear that he made at the outset one capital miscalculation: by uselessly wounding the king, he drew upon himself the royal displeasure which for nearly twenty years was a chief obstacle blocking his way into the cabinet. I have never been able to understand how a man of Pitt's perspicacity could have made such a stupendous blunder. And in very truth, if the Great Commoner's course was shaped by the compass of selfish ambition, and all his convictions were but ballast to a topping rhetoric, he was indeed an unskilled pilot the whole voyage. What could Talleyrand have learned from the career of Chatham!

If Dr. von Ruville is too subtle by half, Mr. Williams is perhaps not subtle enough. For the better understanding of Chatham, what is now needed is neither new documents nor further summaries of his speeches (many of them, alas, written by Dr. Johnson!), but a more skillful analysis of his mind and character. I am persuaded that such an analysis—not easily made, it is true—would have spared Mr. Williams the hopeless task of making his hero's early conduct appear consistent, and Dr. von Ruville the ungrateful one of searching out a sordid motive for actions which were often enough not inspired by conscious motive at all. Much of Pitt's early inconsistency was due to the circumstance that he had words and the power of speech before he had matured political convictions. Pitt was no logician, but a man of action who learned how a thing ought to be done only by doing it. As he had little to do in the early years except to harangue, he learned a good deal about making speeches, but very little about how to govern England. "I know that I can save England", he cried. Quite true; but he could not tell any one else how to save England, actually did not himself know how it was to be done, until he set about doing it. When his hand was at last on the helm, then he knew, not from chart or compass, but by feeling the current's pressure on the rudder, where the ship must go. After that experience, no more uncertainty; all his cardinal political ideas became emotional convictions, as unreasoned and as enduring as a religious faith.

With an insight equal to his sympathy and his knowledge, Mr. Williams would have given us a more human, a more convincing Pitt. But his Pitt is more convincing than Dr. von Ruville's. For if Pitt had really been the kind of man Dr. von Ruville makes him out to be, it would never have been worth while, as Mr. Egerton well says, to write so many thick volumes about him.

CARL BECKER.

The Fall of the Dutch Republic. By HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON.
(Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1913.
Pp. xii, 433.)

"We are endeavoring to make the history of a very dull period readable" (p. 55). In this, the author has succeeded. His book will be

read to the end by any one who has taken it into his hands. In a somewhat rough, occasionally a little boyish, but always vivid style, he has sketched the principal features of the decline and dissolution of the once famous republic whose "Rise", as glorified by Motley, is familiar to the American student, while some parts at least of its history in the days of John de Witt and William III. are interwoven in so widely read a work as Macaulay's *History of England*. "What lies between the days of William III. . . and the foundation of the modern kingdom, is a subject of quite as much speculation as the mediaeval history of Greece or China. It has been my intention to supply the missing link for the benefit of American readers" ("To the Reader", p. x).

Without having fulfilled the whole of this task, the author may be said to have given a clear and, generally speaking, correct representation of Dutch history in the eighteenth century, especially of the years from 1740 or thereabout to 1784 or 1785. The facts and their connection are presented in the manner of a competent Dutch scholar of to-day. The quality of being by birth a Dutchman has enabled Mr. van Loon to consult in the original as well the political literature of the time as the writings of modern Dutch historians; his connection with American life qualifies him so to treat the complicated matter as to meet the needs and tastes of a public less interested in the shell than in the kernel of the dullest part of the history of a little foreign nation.

Dull is the name given to this period of our national history not only by Mr. van Loon, but by the average modern Dutchman as well. I for my part am inclined to think that if history is dull, it lies with the historian and never with the history. The phrase simply means that a period has not been treated as it should be. To relate facts which are dramatic in themselves, is comparatively easy. But the facts are not always so, and if they are not, they should not be treated as if they were. "Dull" periods are those the interest of which resides in the substrata exclusively; so to them you have to go.

To have tried to do this and to have tolerably well succeeded in this far from easy task, is the great merit of this book. It is not without faults. It does not sufficiently connect the history of the Dutch Republic in the days of fame with that of modern Holland. Only part of the "missing link" is "supplied". The real subject of the work is the gradual dissolution of the republic; its ultimate downfall is (if not related at length) at least foreshadowed; but the foundation of the modern state, its conditions of life, its prospects and possibilities and the way it has lived up to them, are either dismissed in a few concluding words without much precision, or even absolutely neglected. The reader is left at a loss about what modern Holland stands for. The author admits (p. 406) that "fully fifty years" after the last events mentioned by him somewhat of a new departure was made, but he does not show why or how or to what ends. To fill up completely the gap that (according to his introduction) has attracted the author's notice, another work of the same size would be required.

The subject as defined on the title-page (*The Fall of the Dutch Republic*) would include the event of 1795. Admitting the special reasons that may be invoked for treating the years 1787-1795 in the desultory way used by the author, it remains somewhat uncertain why the latter half of the Patriotic troubles (1784-1787) is represented on so small a scale; especially why the foreign influences, gradually developing into downright foreign direction, which turned from its object every political initiative from within, are left in the dark. On the European relations of Holland between the peace of Versailles and the Prussian intervention of 1787 something more ought to have been said; and the name and work of Sir James Harris mentioned.

The two introductory chapters, Political Development and Economic Development, are very good, the most attractive and most instructive of the work. The psychological side of the question is a little neglected. Above all things, one has to consider (I think) the absolutely abnormal conditions which alone can account for the sudden rise of a population of one and a half million people, surrounded by neighbors of far greater natural resources, to such a pitch of power and glory as the republic had reached in 1648. Her fate was to be obliged to play a leading part in Europe long after these conditions had ceased to exist. From 1672 to his death, William III. strained her means to the utmost and till the peace of Utrecht she had to pay a much larger share in the general cost of keeping the France of Louis XIV. within bounds, than her resources in men and even money in comparison to her allies reasonably entitled them to expect. The moral collapse after all was over was indeed inevitable, and the wonder is not that the overstrained republic went to pieces, but that its agony could last so long. In the Europe which had come into existence after Cromwell, Colbert, Peter, and Frederick, there was no room for Holland as a great power, and she is satisfied now with the rank that naturally becomes her. The political organization without which even the modest rôle of modern Holland could not be assumed, she has not had the genius to invent of herself. She is indebted for it to European commotions which put many things in their proper place, among them our little but not extinguished nation.

I wonder a bit—to return to my author—why a man of so happy gifts as Mr. van Loon should not have taken the trouble to review his text with more care. It abounds in little but really unnecessary inaccuracies, without serious detriment (it may be true) to the general value of his work, but such as are sure to disturb the “benevolent reader” who happens to possess some knowledge of his own upon the subject.

A few instances: “Nowadays”, the House of Hapsburg does not reign in Spain (p. 8). William II. was not married to the daughter of James II. (p. 33). Germany’s prosperity cannot be said to have been destroyed by the Thirty Years’ War *for at least three centuries*: Germany is prosperous now and was so yesterday, long before 1948! (p. 50); in general, the author abuses the superlative a little. The twelve years’

truce was not concluded in 1602 (p. 50). Sixteenth, read seventeenth century (p. 53). The minutes of the meetings of the Messrs. XVII., said by the author never to have been kept, fill many rows in the archives at the Hague (p. 67). "Maryken Meu" means Aunt not "Mother" Mary (p. 124). Affray, read Affry (p. 154). 1751 is wrong (p. 155). Guelen, read Quelen (p. 209). The picture gallery sold by King William III. in 1850 had been formed entirely by his father, and has nothing to do with the pictures in possession of the House of Orange before 1795, which had in the revolutionary times become the property of the French and Batavian nations (p. 292). The estates thought of fleeing to Haarlem, read Amsterdam (p. 394). No violence to the defeated party!!! No shootings (it is true) by the government, but lootings, by the mob, innumerable (p. 395). One million guilders to France as the price of Liberty and Equality would have been a mere trifle. It was a hundred! (p. 401). "They lost their language" is misleading; the Dutch were governed in French, but never ceased for a moment to speak their own tongue (p. 405). The revolution of 1813 cannot be said to have been the work of "a few families". It was certainly no very heroic affair, the Dutch people being in the position to profit by the victories of others; but as far as it went, the movement was sustained by the nation as a whole and a large number of its most conspicuous supporters were regenerated Patriots from the middle classes (p. 405).

This will not be Mr. van Loon's last work, I presume; may the next one keep the promise now held out, and be exempt from this little *manque de tenue*.

H. T. COLENBRANDER.

Source Problems on the French Revolution. By FRED MORROW FLING, Ph.D., and HELENE DRESSER FLING, M.A. [Harper's Parallel Source Problems.] (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1913. Pp. xiii, 339.)

PROFESSOR FLING's long and earnest advocacy of laboratory work in history renders it eminently fitting that he should be the author of this volume in the series so auspiciously inaugurated by the publication of *Parallel Source Problems in Mediaeval History* by Duncalf and Krey in 1912. The work contains studies on the Oath of the Tennis Court, the Royal Session of June 23, 1789, the Insurrection of October 5 and 6, 1789, and the Flight of the King, June 20, 1791. Each problem is introduced by a short sketch giving the setting, a survey of the sources, a list of questions bringing out the steps in the process of determining the truth and formulating it into a constructive narrative, and finally the sources upon which the students' work is based. Besides this, there is by way of appendix an excellent illustration of the method as applied to "the Tennis Court Oath".

In discussing a work of this kind, which as the author suggests marks a step in the evolution of history teaching, one naturally asks how far

it maintains the standard a manual for laboratory work in college history should have. Thus it is a question whether it is fair to the student to make no mention of the important fact that the sources here given are not all we have on the respective topics. His knowledge of this might, it is true, disturb his satisfaction in the finality of the results of his exercises, but that would be chastening. Again it is a question whether such a source book should not be developed with greater care so as to illustrate more varied problems in historical criticism and construction. The work should be progressive in regard both to the character and the difficulty of the problems to be solved. Instead there is too much sameness; the last is too much like the first. Even the familiar problem of contradictory evidence does not arise in any large sense. The choice of topics is likewise open to criticism because they are not sufficiently representative on the one hand and not well distributed on the other. Of the four, three fall in the first six months of the Revolution, while the fourth, the Flight of the King, is an episodic event in 1791.

The translations are good and often very happy. Not infrequently, however, the effort to be true to the original is too conscientious and stiffness or even obscurity results. Thus on page 30 we find "Groups asking one another reciprocally what should be done", while on page 22, "Bureau of Verification" might be better rendered Committee on Credentials. More disconcerting are the frequent omissions of clauses, sentences, and paragraphs without anything to indicate the excisions from the original source. On page 179, line 5, for example, four lines of the text of the *procès-verbal* are cut out from the heart of the sentence. For similar liberties see pages 38, 177, 178, 180, *et passim*. The fact that as a rule omissions are indicated makes these liberties all the more reprehensible.

The historic settings for the problems are illuminating and suggestive, save that they have a tendency at times to become too meaty, with the result that clearness and accuracy are sacrificed. As an illustration of this the following sentence on the position of the king after the return from Varennes will suffice: "Deprived of his power, placed under guard in the Tuileries, he was for nearly three months a silent spectator of the activities of the first French republic."

But these are minor, though unexpected, defects in a work of unusual usefulness. The peculiar merit of this volume over other collections of sources lies in the fact that it makes accessible material for intensive critical study by presenting a group of sources on the same historic questions. That many teachers will have their classes work out all four problems is not likely. Nevertheless if only one or two are done the exercise cannot but develop a more critical habit of mind and acquaint the student with the rudiments at least of the scientific method as applied to history.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

Oeuvres Complètes de Maximilien Robespierre. Première Partie. Robespierre à Arras. Tome II. Les Oeuvres Judiciaires, 1782-1786. Par ÉMILE LESUEUR, Docteur en Droit. [Société des Études Robespierristes.] (Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1913. Pp. 407.)

THE Société des Études Robespierristes does not limit its field of investigation to Robespierre and his partizans. It states officially that its journal, the *Annales Révolutionnaires*, and the monographs which appear under its direction shall embrace the study of the whole period of the French Revolution and that all its work shall above all else be done critically and without bias. It is rendering an invaluable service to the students of the revolutionary period by the publication of the complete works of Robespierre. M. Émile Lesueur, intrusted with the compilation of the materials dealing with Robespierre's legal practice at Arras, has accompanied the second volume of the series with a carefully prepared and very interestingly written general introduction and has given a special setting for the more important legal documents. He fails however to describe the court procedure and he also omits the introduction of the reader to the social environment in which Robespierre lived and worked.

To judge from the eighty cases in which Robespierre appeared 116 times before the Conseil d'Artois during the first five years of his legal practice, it would seem that he was fairly successful as a barrister. The court decided the great majority of these cases in Robespierre's favor. His success in this respect was due to two reasons: to the choice of his cases and to the careful study and presentation of them. He had a very exalted idea of the legal profession. He would not plead the cause of wrong, and he considered it to be the special mission of the advocate to protect the poor and weak against the rich and powerful. He was an enthusiastic disciple of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Beccaria, and was familiar with the best thought of his time.

Only six of the eighty cases covered in this volume contain material actually coming from Robespierre. For the other seventy-four cases, to which only forty-six pages are given, Lesueur merely mentions the names of the lawyers and the respective clients and reproduces short extracts from the court's decisions showing whether or not they were in favor of Robespierre. And even for the six cases the material consists not of actual pleadings in court but of documents prepared outside of the court chamber. It was quite customary for the advocate to prepare a written pleading, brief, or "mémoire" in defense of his client for the college of judges. The written document was considered of much greater importance and carried more weight than oral pleadings. Judging however from statements of unbiassed witnesses, reproduced by Lesueur, Robespierre made some very effective oral pleadings. Locally at least he was considered a highly talented and rapidly rising young lawyer and orator.

The document prepared in defense of Visser de Boisvallé is especially interesting and received more than local consideration. This gentleman, lawyer, painter, botanist, natural philosopher, inventor, had put a lightning rod upon his house and was, because of this act, attacked by ill-intentioned and superstitious neighbors. The local authorities upheld the agitated people in their demand that this dangerous invention be destroyed. In this trial Robespierre was at his best, for it was characteristic of him to argue for a principle rather than a specific case. He defended the cause of experimentation and innovation as a necessary means to progress. He drew upon his fine classical learning for examples showing how the advancement of civilization had repeatedly been checked by ignorance, superstition, and intolerance. This trial attracted the attention of various scientific societies and even a wide circle of the more intelligent reading public of France.

The "mémoire" in behalf of François Détéuf, who was maliciously accused by a designing clergyman of theft, and the replication in defense of Marie Sommerville, who was arrested because of debt, are also interesting documents and help to reveal the Robespierre of the Revolution.

CARL CHRISTOPHELSMEIER.

Francisco de Miranda: Général de Division des Armées de la République (1791-1794); Héros de l'Indépendance Américaine (1756-1816). Par ALPH. COMTE Ô KELLY DE GALWAY. [Les Généraux de la Révolution.] (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1913. Pp. 190.)

THIS book is a *mélange*. In that section of it which is incorrectly entitled biography are found excerpts from certain historical writers who have dealt with Miranda: Villanueva, Chuquet, Guinan. Among these excerpts are numerous brief sources: some are reprinted from the *Moniteur*, while others are unpublished documents from the Archives Nationales and from the archives of the Parisian police. Data are presented which concern Miranda's iconography: for example, there is an account of the names inscribed on the Arc-de-Triomphe at Paris. French translations are printed of two laws of Venezuela passed to commemorate Miranda's career as a revolutionary leader.

Another section of the book is entitled documents. A French translation of the baptismal certificate of Miranda appears here. A page deals with Miranda's descendants. A note embodies a reference to Miranda found in a letter preserved in the Musée Alexandre Dumas. The address which Miranda proposed to deliver to the National Convention in March, 1793, is printed from a pamphlet in the Bibliothèque Nationale. A group of documents follow which deal mainly with Miranda in 1792 and 1793: some of these documents were unpublished. Some of the documents concerning Miranda's trial in 1793 are taken from the collection edited by Aristides Rojas. In the same collection

was printed the *Extrait du procès-verbal* which de Galway prints on pages 150-169. He also prints some unpublished police reports on Miranda in 1793. In general these documents illustrate certain phases of Miranda's career in France.

Scattered through the book are a few unpublished documents which deal with Miranda and Spanish America. On pages 103-113 is an anonymous report on Miranda, apparently emanating from some person in London, which is wrongly ascribed to the year 1796. Three pages are occupied by an extract from a manuscript memoir written in 1801 by Jean-Baptiste Dubois. On pages 127-130 are printed two brief police reports on Miranda's activity in London in 1810. In the judgment of the reviewer, the contribution made by these documents to our knowledge of Miranda as a promoter of revolts in Spanish America is almost negligible.

Not all of the iconographic material deals with Miranda: one of the half-tones in the beginning of the volume is a picture of President Gomez of Venezuela; the other frontispiece is from the portrait of Miranda at Versailles. The picture of Miranda opposite page 16 is after a rare engraving by Bonneville preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. On the next page is found a reproduction of the cut published in 1810 by Antepara. A picture of Señor José Gil Fortoul, the distinguished author and publicist of Venezuela, appears beside the painting of the Venezuelan artist, Martin Tovar y Tovar, which depicts the signing of the declaration of independence of Venezuela on July 5, 1811. The book also contains a half-tone of a painting by another Venezuelan artist, Arturo Michelena, which portrays Miranda in the prison of La Caracca at Cadiz. It contains a representation of the monument and statue erected to Miranda at Carácas as well as representations of a number of medals which have been struck to commemorate Miranda's military services. The author has made an interesting collection of the most accessible iconographic material which relates to Miranda.

At the end of the volume there is a very incomplete bibliography accompanied by a notice of the pieces of music which have been written in honor of Miranda and by a mention of the Venezuelan issue of postage stamps which bore his portrait. There is no index. This unsystematic book has a claim to a place among the curiosities of historical literature.

W. S. ROBERTSON.

Robert Fulton, Engineer and Artist: his Life and Works. By H. W. DICKINSON, A. M. I. Mech. E., Assistant Keeper, the Science Museum, South Kensington. (London and New York: John Lane. 1913. Pp. xiv, 333.)

THE author has special qualifications for the work he has done. His position has made the productions of the early days of steam engineering actualities and not merely dim historical mementos. Above all, his knowledge of engineering science has enabled him to analyze Fulton's

career, to grasp its real significance and the progress of the evolution of his ideas, and to set them out so that the reader may appreciate, almost for the first time, Fulton's true position in the history of steam navigation, and particularly that his success was not a happy accident but was the result of the intelligent application of scientific principles, deduced to a considerable extent from his own experiments.

The book is entitled, *Robert Fulton, Engineer and Artist*, and is written from that viewpoint; in other words, it does not aim at being a complete biography in the sense of telling of his social life as well as his work, although it is far indeed from being a mere chronicle of experiments. But the feature of his work as artist and as engineer is foremost, and we think, in this respect, it is the best life of Fulton which has been written; it is probable that the same may be said of the book as a whole. The reader becomes convinced, as he proceeds, that the author has fully maintained the statement in the preface that his aim has been to be impartial while sympathetic.

We are told briefly of Fulton's early life and first work as an artist in Philadelphia, and then of his stay in London, his training under West, and of his rather brief career as a painter, including the fact, however, that some of his paintings were exhibited at the Royal Academy and the Royal Society of British Artists.

Another chapter tells of the beginning of his interest in engineering work, of some of his early schemes, and of a crude model and tests of a power boat. This was characteristic of Fulton's work always—to test his ideas experimentally, if possible.

At this period he became greatly interested in canals, a subject which he never entirely abandoned, and he devised a scheme for transferring canal-boats from one level to another by inclined planes. His artistic ability was very useful in making drawings of his devices, many of which are reproduced.

Going over to France, primarily to urge his system of small canals, he became a friend of the Barlows, a friendship which lasted for life, and was of the greatest benefit in providing sympathetic interest and encouragement. In 1797, Fulton conceived the idea of a submarine boat for exploding torpedoes or mines under war vessels. As with most of his ideas, he was not the originator, but he brought his engineering ability, powerful mind, and sound practical judgment to advancing the cruder ideas of predecessors to actual working conditions. Mr. Dickinson gives the complete story, in English, for the first time, we believe, of Fulton's really wonderful work with submarines, which went as far as was possible in the absence of any power other than manual. It is very interesting to note how, almost a hundred years before the recent perfected submarine, he had discovered and applied many of the features essential to the latest boats of this type.

Meanwhile, in order to provide the means for his experiments, he became an artist again and painted a panorama in a building forty-six feet in diameter. This proved a great success.

Suggested, perhaps, by the submarine experiments, was another scheme for submarine mines or torpedoes, which, however, were to be placed by towing from ordinary boats and drifting under the bottom of the enemy's ships. This was submitted to the French authorities and tested successfully, but this method of warfare did not suit the sea-dogs of the time.

Chapter VII. tells of Fulton's first serious attempt to build a steamboat, giving a preliminary résumé of the "state of the art" by sketches of the work of Rumsey and of Fitch in America and of Miller and of Hulls in Britain. The experiments of Fulton at Plombières are described, and we learn of possibly the first crude attempt at an "experimental tank", now so important in marine design. Chancellor Livingston appears and becomes Fulton's partner. The test of the actual steamboat on the Seine is described.

Even before this, he was planning for the boat which was to be the first commercially successful steamer, the *Clermont*, and was negotiating with Boulton and Watt for the engine, to be shipped to America.

Chapter VIII. gives the story of Fulton's return to England and of his employment by the Admiralty to develop his scheme of floating submarine mines or "carcasses"; of the experiments and of actual attacks upon the French fleet at Boulogne, which, however, were unsuccessful. It is pleasant to note that he was generously rewarded for his efforts, receiving in all some £15,000. The engine for the *Clermont* was built meanwhile and shipped to New York.

In the next chapter Fulton returns to New York and begins the building of "the steamboat". This alone does not take all his energy, for we find him writing about canals and interesting the government in his submarine mines. A test was given, but the hulk was protected by booms and nets, so that the mines did no damage.

We then have the story of the completion and test of the *Clermont* and of her famous trip to Albany on August 19, 1807, which inaugurated commercial navigation. The success of this first season led to the building of other steamboats for the Hudson and for Long Island Sound, and for the ferries on the Hudson and East rivers.

The litigation about the monopoly granted by the state of New York is given fully, as well as an account of the building of steamers for the Ohio and the Mississippi. The part played by the Stevens family in steam navigation is told. A full account of the building and trial of the *Demologos*, the first steam war vessel, is given, followed by the closing scenes of Fulton's life and an appreciation. The appendixes are full of interest to the student who wishes fuller details, and does not care simply for results.

It is to be noted that Mr. Dickinson is an Englishman, so that we in this country can rejoice all the more at the admirable biography he has written. He says of Fulton,

He was a born engineer of the same type as James Watt and Thomas Telford, who had no greater amount of training in the direction of their

future careers. To mention as the offspring of Fulton's genius only the first workable submarine torpedo-boat, the first commercially practicable steam vessel, and the first steam propelled warship, is to entitle him to a place among the giants of the engineering profession.

The book will prove highly interesting to every reader who enjoys the story of successful achievement, but engineers and scientific men generally will derive a keener enjoyment, as they watch the development of the trained scientific mind. It will mean little to the general reader but much to the engineer to note how "he was the first to treat the elementary factors in steamship design: dimensions, form, horsepower, and speed in a scientific spirit; to him belongs the credit of having coupled the boat and the engine as a working unit."

In fact Fulton, more than a hundred years ago, realized what our engineering schools have only begun to emphasize recently—that an engineering device to be a success must pay a profit; otherwise it is a mechanical toy. Before Fulton, others had built steamboats which moved through the water, and thus were mechanically successful. Fulton, in the *Clermont*, was the first to build a steamboat that could earn a profit. Mr. Dickinson is to be congratulated on the clearness with which he has developed this important point, and we say finally that the reading of his book has been a great pleasure.

WALTER M. MCFARLAND.

Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte der Burschenschaft und der Deutschen Einheitsbewegung. Im Auftrage der Burschenschaftlichen Historischen Kommission in Gemeinschaft mit Ferdinand Bilger, Wilhelm Hopf, Friedrich Meinecke, Otto Oppermann, Paul Wentzcke, herausgegeben von HERMAN HAUPT. Band IV. (Heidelberg. 1913. Pp. vii, 399.)

THESE *Quellen* represent a labor of love of certain graduate members for the student organization, called the Burschenschaft, with which they were connected in their undergraduate days and toward which they have maintained a respectful attachment in after life, largely because of its historic rôle in spreading the gospel of German unity at a time when that gospel was far from welcome. *Quellen*, in respect of the Burschenschaft, the essays composing this fourth volume of the series undoubtedly are, but in respect of the larger field of German unity, which they also undertake to serve, they are at best hardly more than remote back-eddies. And yet as back-eddies may, on close scrutiny, surrender a great deal of information of a rather recondite sort, so the quiet waters into which these scattered contributions take us reveal conditions and opinions, especially in educated, provincial circles, that the historian, occupied with far-sounding ministerial decrees and irresistible economic forces, is apt to overlook. The beginnings of the Burschenschaft at Jena following the patriotic fervor released by the Wars of Liberation, the infantile diseases of the young organization, the professorial in-

spirers and mentors, are some of the themes treated by contributors in the form of explanatory comment, accompanying a display of more or less weighty documents. Among these, certain personal statements in the form of letters or diaries revealing the dominant *Stimmung* of one or another German circle stand out with a very instant appeal. The few pages of the *Denkwürdigkeiten* of F. J. Frommann (pp. 40-47) and the vigorous communication of the young Gervinus (p. 362 ff.) furnish materials that every historian will welcome and turn to good account, while a letter from a reactionary student (p. 242 ff.), indited with extraordinary fervor, excellently serves to bring to our attention that the conservatism of the Prussian *Junker* was not all pure greed but had a very convincing philosophic or, perhaps I should say, emotional basis.

On the whole, however, these documents with their attendant glosses may fairly be said to excel through their negative content, for they open a vision, desolating as an abyss, of the backwardness of Germany compared with her western neighbors. The country had recently acquired a promising literature and was profoundly musing upon the secrets of religion and philosophy, but politically it was about in a line with Kamchatka, and hopelessly prostrate before its two-score divinely imposed despots. By the very effort these young Burschenschafter make to arouse "the political animal" in themselves, you get a pathetic glimpse of the remoteness of dreaming Germany, newly locked by the reaction in the prison of medievalism, from the live and pressing issues of the day. But the most pathetic as also the most amusing document in this negative line is unquestionably the Reichstag decree of 1793 (p. 29). In that year the perennially somnolent Diet of the Holy Roman Empire miraculously awakened to the fact that there was a guillotine operating on the Place de la Révolution and mumbled its disapproval of the innovation (and specifically of the flying seeds of revolt sprouting in the form of German student associations) in a passionately inarticulate fulmination, one sentence of which growlingly heaves its huge bulk through five paragraphs! Perhaps it is a very personal impression but to me the bluster of the ghostly Diet about the horrible new times, couched in the famous *Kanzleistyl* which still curses German academical writers (its tell-tale finger-prints are on almost every contribution to this volume), affords an invaluable flash-light picture of all those heavy obstacles that had to be conquered before the vital Germany of our day could be born.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

The Life and Letters of George William Frederick, Fourth Earl of Clarendon, K.G., G.C.B. By the Right Hon. Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Bart., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D. In two volumes. (London: Edward Arnold; New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1913. Pp. xi, 366; x, 383.)

THESE two volumes contain new and in some respects useful material for early Victorian history. They consist of selections from Lord

Clarendon's private and familiar letters, covering especially the years from 1823 to 1870. Sir Herbert Maxwell found a wealth of correspondence to choose from; and he has arranged his extracts so as to form, in effect, a life of Clarendon. Being restricted, however, almost to the very letters which he edits, Sir Herbert's biographical work is limited in value: it would seem, indeed, to be only secondary to the chief purpose of these volumes, which is to display Lord Clarendon's more intimate correspondence in its bearing upon his career. Whenever an adequate biography of Clarendon comes to be written, the contribution of Sir Herbert may be used to advantage. But the student of the early Victorian era who has recourse to this part of the Clarendon correspondence will probably find himself looking beyond its biographical import to the intrinsic interest of its contents. Not always can it be said of two volumes of letters, that they contain scarcely a dull paragraph; yet the impression left by these is entirely delightful—Sir Herbert himself showing in his editorial paragraphs a touch that blends happily with the lightness and ease of Clarendon's own style.

The length and variety of Clarendon's official career give his letters a wide range. Beginning with long descriptions of the Carlist wars in Spain, they pass to the refusal of the governor-generalship of Canada in 1837, and, in 1840, to the suspected rivalry with Palmerston in the cabinet. The critical relations with France over the Eastern Question in the forties, and the difficulties of Ireland under Peel's government, bring out communications of some interest, though more naturally attaches to those written while Lord Lieutenant of Ireland after 1847, and during the discussions of the Encumbered Estates Act. Then follow negotiations for the place of foreign secretary in Aberdeen's cabinet, which leads to the absorbing question of the Crimean War. After the Paris Conference of 1856 comes a succession of topics treated less fully, such as the Civil War in the United States, the death of the prince consort and of Palmerston, the investigation of the endowed schools commission, and the beginnings of Gladstonian liberalism. Glancing over the period from 1823 to 1870, there is almost no public issue upon which Lord Clarendon or one of his correspondents has not touched.

Such an extensive list of subjects might raise expectations of an abundance of information to be had: but in information, particularly of the kind that makes narrative or contributes to analytical discussion, this entire correspondence is lacking. At first reading, and in contrast to his official and more formal correspondence, it seems even superficial and trivial: but, on reflection, a different appreciation becomes possible.

For, judging from these letters, Clarendon, like many another Whig of the period, cultivated no distinctive views. He accepted, it might almost seem with indifference, the traditions of his party held by Holland and Lansdowne; and he fell into the routine of cabinet office, disinterestedly, for the personal satisfaction it brought. He was inclined to watch his associates more with an eye to personal than to political criticism—if indeed he ever dissociated the two—for few statesmen

could resolve politics so readily into an interplay of personalities, or overlook so dexterously in a public man the cause or movement behind him. This habit of never seeing impersonally it is that gives their peculiar value to Clarendon's letters. Numerous minor sketches here and there of personal characteristics and situations are surpassingly apt: they arrest attention and remain in the memory. But these letters as a series are chiefly informed with the figures of Palmerston and Russell. Both statesmen appear—and nothing shows more clearly the limited scope of this material—not as successful or original leaders, but as rather troublesome colleagues. Yet the total picture given of each is very true to life, and serves to correct the detached, exalted views of their special biographers.

Sir Herbert Maxwell, after reminding us that he is a Conservative of the old school, protests his non-partizan editing; and on the whole it may be granted. He is not free, however, from an occasional prejudice. One detects, for example, a certain partiality whenever relations with the United States are touched upon, as in his version of the McLeod case, which he would have difficulty in substantiating from the Foreign Office correspondence on the subject. Again, writers on this period are entitled to deplore the often harmful influence of the *Times*, but Sir Herbert exceeds all reason in attacking Sir William Howard Russell, the *Times* correspondent in the Crimean War, for the despatches revealing the distress of Lord Raglan's forces, which formed such an open indictment of the Aberdeen administration. If Sir Herbert had referred to the biography of Sir W. H. Russell, recently published, one would place more confidence in his having looked at all sides of the question. As it is, he appears to have delivered an unfair attack upon only partial knowledge. But bias of this kind is not frequent, nor does it mar the very attractive way in which Sir Herbert has carried out his task.

C. E. FRYER.

Lord Lyons: a Record of British Diplomacy. By Lord NEWTON.

In two volumes. (London: Edward Arnold; New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1913. Pp. x, 388; viii, 447.)

THESE volumes contain something more than the belated reminiscences of a diplomatist, which are often, as Sorel once brightly said, "negotiations for the applause of posterity rather than true records of the past". The work is based, Lord Newton assures us, on "the whole" of Lord Lyons's correspondence, "whether official, semi-official, or private"; and so far as these sources have been used the work is properly classed by the subtitle which the author has chosen, "a Record of British Diplomacy".

The interest attaching to such a record is by no means small. History, in the full and proper sense of the word, such a work of course cannot be. It is of necessity too personal, too limited in its apprehension of motives, and too narrow in its sympathies to convey the whole truth.

It is, nevertheless, the best kind of a contribution to history; for it supplies in an authentic form the elements with which the historian must deal. It states frankly and sincerely the British point of view—at least as regards one important actor in the drama—and is an instructive exposition of the principles upon which British diplomacy was conducted in a period with which Lord Newton himself, as well as Lord Lyons, was personally familiar.

For the American public, and especially for the American historian, the most engaging chapters of these volumes are those which deal with public life in Washington and the impressions created by the attitude of the American people and government just before and during the Civil War, when Lord Lyons was the British minister to the United States.

The record takes us unreservedly into his confidence, and we are permitted to witness the working of his mind from day to day. Arriving in Washington in April, 1859, in May he reports his conviction that there is in the United States "the desire to take advantage of the state of things in Europe to carry out American Views on this side of the Atlantic; in short to get hold of Mexico and Cuba". He finds the government so weak that it would not venture, even in a small matter, to do anything for England which would expose it to the least unpopularity. He is from the first obsessed with the idea that war with England would be popular in the United States, and finds the people "irritable, excitable, and longing to play the part of a first-rate power". These, he admits, "are the crude ideas of a man who has been only seven weeks in the country, and who has necessarily passed them in a small, and at this season, almost deserted town, which is merely the nominal Capital".

Violently prejudiced from the start against American methods, manners, and morals, Lord Lyons was never quite able to escape from the influence of his first impressions. American interest in the rights of neutrals seemed to him nothing more than a disposition "to place restraint upon the belligerent rights of Great Britain, if that country should be involved in war". The trouble over the occupation of the island of San Juan on the Pacific coast, he feared, might easily create the dreaded collision of the two English-speaking peoples; but, although Lord John Russell declared that "it is of the nature of the United States citizens to push themselves where they have no right to go", after protracted negotiations the question of the rightful ownership of the island was cheerfully referred by the American government to the arbitration of the King of Prussia, who finally decided it in favor of the United States.

The value to his own country, and incidentally to the world, of a well-disciplined and thoroughly seasoned diplomatist is forcibly illustrated by the fact that Lord Lyons, while entertaining strong feelings of distrust and disapproval of the characteristics and the government of the American people, was nevertheless able to display outwardly great tact and moderation in handling questions of the utmost delicacy, in which

the honor as well as the interest of Great Britain was involved. Although he regarded the belief which he attributed to Secretary Seward, "that England would never go to war with the United States", as presumptuous and even impertinent, he recognized the disadvantage at which this assumption placed him, and resented the embarrassment consequent upon it; for he saw how impolitic it would be either to confirm or to denounce it. It was inevitable, therefore, when the celebrated *Trent* incident produced a situation not expressly covered by mutually recognized principles of international law, yet apt to inflame the passions of both nations, that his detestation of Mr. Seward should be intensified. Even before this incident, as he confesses in a letter of June 10, 1861, to Lord John Russell, the idea of "a sudden declaration of war against England by the United States", was so dominant in his mind that he did not venture after the arrival of Mr. Adams's report of his first conversation with Lord Russell to approach the secretary, frankly admitting that he considered it "too dangerous to talk to him on such subjects".

A less astute diplomatist would, no doubt, have found it impossible in these critical moments to maintain absolute silence, and an over-confident jurist would probably have brought on a quarrel by arguing about the legal issues. Lord Lyons deftly solved the problem thus forced upon him by creating about himself a perfect void through which his antagonist could not pass without the danger of a fatal misstep. Through this judicious reticence time was given for passion to subside and for reason to act. "In after years", Lord Newton informs us, "Lord Lyons frequently expressed the opinion that if there had then been telegraphic communication across the Atlantic it would have been impossible to avert war, and it is more than probable that he was correct."

It was not, however, quite fair either to himself or to others for Lord Lyons to insist, as he did after the *Trent* affair was concluded, that war was averted because of "the military preparations made in England". A more just view would include recognition of the sincere wish of President Lincoln and Secretary Seward, if possible, to maintain peace; the skill with which Mr. Adams represented the friendly intentions of the United States at the Court of St. James; the wise and temperate intervention of the prince consort, who, as Lord Lyons must have known and as Lord Newton records, in the last days of his life, with the support of the queen, altered a belligerent despatch which the British Ministry by the advice of the law-officers and in view of the temper of the nation had prepared; and finally the prudence and loyalty to high purposes of Lord Lyons himself in his method of presenting the views of the British government at Washington, together with Mr. Seward's perception of the error that would be involved in disregarding the rights of neutral vessels on the high seas.

It is impossible in this brief notice to touch upon all the interesting matter in these volumes concerning the course of our Civil War, and

still less imperative to follow Lord Lyons to Constantinople and to Paris, where he continued his distinguished services until his death in 1887. Both the general reader and the historian will find much in these chapters that is worthy of their attention regarding the Eastern Question, Proposals for Disarmament, the Franco-German War, and the beginning of the Third French Republic.

DAVID J. HILL.

Modern Russia. By GREGOR ALEXINSKY, Ex-Deputy of the Duma. Translated by BERNARD MIALL. (London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1913. Pp. 361.)

THIS is not a work of erudition, nor a bit of journalistic impressionism, nor—intentionally, at least—a book of political propaganda. It is the author's desire to lay before the indubitably ill-informed Western public "a small encyclopaedia of Russian life in all its manifestations, an unpretending photograph, which seeks to produce as faithfully as possible the contours and colours of reality". But one is not a Social-Democrat in vain—and M. Alexinsky was one of the prominent members of that party in the second Duma. The book is one long indictment of "Tsarism". Still, as it is impossible for most Russians to discuss any subject, even astronomy or archaeology, without deducing arguments for or against the autocracy, one must take them as one finds them, and in this case be grateful to the author for his honest attempt "to speak the calm language of facts and figures and exact data" and for a moderation of tone not altogether usual in books of this type.

One great merit of this book is its comprehensiveness. Within about 350 pages M. Alexinsky has compressed an account of the physiography and ethnology of Russia; the political, social, and intellectual evolution of the people; the industrial expansion which in the last few decades has proceeded with American celerity; the agrarian problem, that nightmare of contemporary Russia; the organization of the central and local government, and the traditions, methods, and spirit of the bureaucracy; finance, the army, and foreign policy; the Revolution and the Reaction; the national questions and the religious sects; finally a chapter on literature. Among the innumerable books about Russia that have appeared in recent years, the reviewer knows of no other that gives so many-sided and complete a survey within so small a compass.

The picture of Russian life, as the author views it, is tragic in the extreme; an incorrigibly despotic government, maintaining itself only by bayonets, yet so distrustful of its own troops that it no longer dares face a foreign war; finances on the verge of bankruptcy; education so neglected that seventy-nine per cent. of the population is still illiterate (p. 201); the industrial laboring classes suffering from wretchedly low wages, long hours of work, and frightfully unsanitary surroundings, yet virtually forbidden to organize in their own defense; the peasantry, reduced to permanent pauperism, which is constantly becoming more acute

owing to the rapid increase of the population and the eternal "land-famine". "In our days, the economic . . . life of the Russian village is more than melancholy. It is not life, it is the slow death of creatures incessantly hungry, whose starvation can only be compared to that of the . . . poverty-stricken masses of the East, of Persia, India and China" (p. 146). A prey to famine, cholera, typhoid, alcoholism, the Russian people are threatened with physical and moral degeneration. The failure of the revolution M. Alexinsky ascribes chiefly to the split between the Liberal bourgeoisie and the Socialist and Labor parties, which followed the popular victory in October, 1905. After describing with somewhat ghastly realism Stolypin's methods of "pacification" and the season of disillusionment, lassitude, and despair that followed, the author concludes that by 1910 the worst of the reaction was over, the revolutionary forces are again gathering momentum, and "distant as yet, already foams the crest of that wave which will sweep us away. anew" (p. 293).

The historical parts of the book are to be used with caution; for instance, the author's attempt virtually to identify Russian "feudalism" with that of the West, following the radical and by no means generally accepted theories of the late M. Pavlov-Silvanski. The reader will scarcely fail to note some strange juggling with statistics. For example, on page 144 we read that the appanages of the Imperial Family include eighteen million acres: on page 145 they have risen to 21,300,000 acres. To say that the 2647 great landowners form 56.6 per cent. of the 5252 members of the electoral colleges for the Duma is to bid defiance to arithmetic (p. 279). The translator has followed the time-honored custom of transliterating Russian names for English readers in a manner to make them pronounceable only to Frenchmen.

R. H. LORD.

Memoirs of Li Hung Chang. Edited by WILLIAM FRANCIS MANNIX, with an Introduction by JOHN W. FOSTER. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1913. Pp. xxvii, 298.)

THE foundation of a successful official career in China rests, as everyone knows, upon literary training. While few of her modern statesmen have achieved distinction as authors the fact is usually explained by the arduous nature of their duties; Li Hung-chang's literary *Nachlasse* suggest that this sterility is rather apparent than real. In a country where the usual motives of justifying one's public acts or of acquiring literary celebrity are absent the intellectual activities of its best minds are displayed only in private, and the people are given no share in the discussion of national problems. In the case of Li, who seems to have been sensible of a real literary ambition, literary material to the amount of fifteen hundred thousand words was found at the time of his death in his various residences, most of it composed in brief intervals of leisure as a relief from official cares or to show to his

personal friends. If others of his class have been as prolific as he in expressing their sentiments on paper we shall gain a new conception of the intellectual life of Chinese statesmen during the past century. In the present instance, the first of the kind that has been interpreted to the Western world, the data for forming an estimate of the author's character and acts prove to be rather disconcerting. So far as it is given to us the whole mass strikes the outsider as being singularly amateurish, fragmentary, and unconvincing. Only a tenth of the matter, we are told, has been translated, the selections which are accorded a place in the present volume being poetical effusions, random remarks on religion, agriculture, and affairs, and notes upon the men and events of his time. The latter are more or less fugitive, those on the same topic being sometimes written at widely varying dates, but they constitute the main interest of the collection.

The value of these, from the historian's point of view, is impaired by the circumstances attending their publication. No intimation is given that the originals have been published in China or that they are anywhere available for comparison with the translations. The translators are named in such a way in the preface as to render their identification difficult, while the American editor's ignorance of Chinese—revealed in his mistakes in Chinese proper names and by other errors—arouses misgivings as to his fitness for the task of selecting and arranging material of such importance. Some passages occur which are so unlike Chinese modes of expression as to suggest a very free paraphrase of any possible Chinese originals. While every translator must be allowed a considerable degree of liberty, the freedom with which English turns of thought as well as idioms are here employed excites some suspicion as to the accuracy with which the author's own ideas have been treated. Furthermore, though Li was a man of strong feelings and passion he was notably explicit in saying what he meant. Ignorance or indifference about foreign names may account for his glaring invention in describing incidents in places abroad which he never saw, as Munich and Windsor, Chicago and San Francisco, but it is difficult to account for his declaration that he was present at the bedside of the dying General Ward, who succumbed to his wounds in Ningpo, a town outside of his province. A governor under the old régime in China was never allowed to leave the province where he ruled. Again, he refers to seeing the execution of the rioters at Tientsin in 1870 in company with representatives of the foreign powers. There were no foreigners present at the execution, and Li himself could not have been there unless in disguise—which is utterly improbable. In each of these cases Li's presence would have been known and recorded at the time.

While discrepancies like these require explanation before the *Memoirs* can be taken seriously as an authoritative source for modern Chinese history, the book is not without considerable interest to the general reader. Unscrupulous, arrogant, and insatiable in his appetite for money and power, Li was, nevertheless, a wit, a scholar, and a generous friend.

Like some other great Orientals known to history, it would seem as though the great vices so controlled his nature as to leave no place for the little ones. He won his reputation at a time of crisis by his energy and his capacity for taking responsibility; he convinced the distracted Manchu court that he was their only servant who could deal with the inexplicable foreigner; he showed the famous Empress Dowager how corruption could be developed into a fine art, and in an unholy alliance with her he robbed the revenues of his country and died the richest man in the empire. Yet, despite his greed and occasional acts of wantonness, Li seems to have sincerely desired the good of his people. For this reason much has been forgiven him by those who look upon him as a giant among the men of his time.

F. W. WILLIAMS.

L'Afrique du Nord. Conférences organisées par la Société des Anciens Élèves et Élèves de l'École Libre des Sciences Politiques et présidées par MM. C. JONNART, le général LYAUTEY, E. ROUME, J. CH.-ROUX, S. PINCHON. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1913. Pp. 275.)

We have here five addresses delivered at as many conferences by well-known French colonial authorities. Augustin Bernard speaks of Algeria and Tunisia, de Lacharrière of Morocco, Camille Guy of French West Africa, André Tardieu of Egypt, and René Pinon of Tripolitana.

The eminent colonials whose names appear at the head of this article do not add greatly to the value of the work, as their remarks, delivered in the capacity of presiding officers, are brief and general in character. Roume, formerly governor-general of French West Africa, does say some interesting things concerning the control of the Sahara, the trans-saharan project, and the colonial army. Jonnart, formerly governor-general of Algeria, who enjoys to a remarkable extent the respect and confidence of the natives, speaks of the importance of the practical education of the native population and suggests that Tunisia and Algeria cannot be successfully developed in the interests of the European colonists at the expense of the natives. He refers also to the splendid opportunity to develop a formidable native army, but does not discuss this most important question. The remarks of General Lyautey are mostly an appreciation of the French army and of his collaborators in North Africa.

The reader will find much of interest in the principal addresses. Augustin Bernard sketches the development of Algeria and of Tunisia, and discusses the relations between the native population and the colonists. He calls particular attention to the problem presented by the presence of a European population of 900,000, less than half of French origin, settled among a native population of 6,000,000.

De Lacharrière describes Morocco, the country and the people, and very properly emphasizes the important fact that the population is Berber

rather than Arab. The Arab element is much less numerous than in Algeria or Tunisia. He gives a brief account of the French occupation up to the close of 1912.

The account of French West Africa, given by the colonial governor, Camille Guy, furnishes the most satisfactory chapter in the book. Roume justly refers to it as "l'exposé si clair, si précis, si nourri de faits et d'idées". The wonderful development of that colony, particularly in the last ten years, is not generally appreciated. Commerce, which in 1904 amounted to 155,000,000 francs, has about doubled. In that same year 968 kilometres of railways had been completed; 2700 kilometres are now in operation. These figures only slightly indicate what France has been doing in that possession.

With reference to Egypt, André Tardieu reviews French activities in that country since the time of Napoleon I.

The account of Tripolitana and of recent events in that new Italian colony, given by René Pinon, is a well-told story of well-known facts.

The book is, for the most part, a record of French achievement in Africa, told by some of her greatest empire-builders and colonial authorities. The reader will not find much discussion of those troublesome colonial questions which are disturbing the peace of colonial assemblies as well as of the French Parliament, questions which are incidental, and destined to find satisfactory solution, but are of considerable interest to the student of colonial affairs.

As the book has gone beyond the limits of its title, and as so much of French Africa has been treated in these articles, it is to be regretted that a lecture on French Equatorial Africa was not included. The French have nothing to lose, and something to gain from a discussion of the highly creditable work accomplished in that less-known colony. The picture of the French African Empire, in its broad outlines, would then have been complete.

GEORGE FREDERICK ANDREWS.

The Nation and the Empire. Being a Collection of Speeches and Addresses, with an Introduction, by Lord MILNER, G.C.B. (London: Constable and Company; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1913. Pp. xlviii, 515.)

LORD MILNER is a figure around which still rage burning controversies. He was the representative of British rule in South Africa during the Boer War and the steadfast, outspoken champion of the policy that South Africa should be British. To this day, therefore, Imperialism worships at his shrine and cries out that he saved the British Empire from disruption. On the other hand, Lord Milner's critics declare that he was hard, tactless, and arrogant; that he had no imagination to appreciate the point of view of the non-British element in South Africa; and that if he had had his way, the Dutch republics would never have been given self-government and the present union

would have been impossible. When the Liberals secured power in Britain in 1906 they reversed Lord Milner's policy and the House of Commons censured him. He has, however, never changed his view that his policy was sound. He was a Liberal in early years and is now at war with the Liberal party but he has never run well in the harness of the rival party. His pose is indeed that of the non-party man. His political ideals are the commercial union of the British Empire by means of tariffs and the federalization of the British Empire for the common purposes of defense.

A volume of speeches by a man of Lord Milner's rank and expounding such a policy is sure to contain much of historic interest. There are speeches made in South Africa before, during, and after the war, and speeches made in England and in Canada. It must be admitted that there are few dramatic touches. Lord Milner's mind is clear but it is also a little hard, for the iron will of the man shows through the texture of his utterance. The best thing in the book is not the speeches, which are fragmentary in character and sometimes confined to rather technical questions, but the introduction which embodies the political faith of Lord Milner and is a really important historical document. He has a fling at the unreason of party, and a word of praise for the Irish, which shows, with some insight, that "Home Rulers" are not necessarily opposed to Imperial union. He pleads for the better organization that will place Britons where they are needed and not crowd them into the populous centres where many of them are not needed. He wishes no more territory for Britain.

There is quite enough painted red already. It is not a question of a couple of hundred thousand square miles more or less. It is a question of preserving the unity of a great race, of enabling it, by maintaining that unity, to develop freely on its own lines, and to continue to fulfil its distinctive mission in the world. As it happens, that race—owing to causes which are plain on the face of history and which need not be recited here—is scattered over a large extent of the earth's surface (p. xxxii).

What is needed, says this man with a genius for administration, is better organization, the creation of some kind of unity in government:

We require an Imperial Constitution, providing for the separation of those branches of public business which, like Foreign Affairs, Defence and Ocean Communications, are essentially Imperial, from those which are mainly or wholly local, and for the management of the former by a new authority, representative of all parts of the Empire, but undistracted by the work and the controversies which are peculiar to any single part. We have already, in the United Kingdom, differentiated downwards, by relegating to new organs of government, such as Borough and County Councils, a great many duties formerly performed, or not performed, by the central Government. And the effect has undoubtedly been salutary. We have yet to differentiate upwards, throughout the Empire, by entrusting to a body constituted *ad hoc* the matters of common interest, which are at present partially and spasmodically

managed, or wholly neglected, by the so-called "Imperial" Parliament and the Government dependent on it, and to some, though to a much smaller extent, by the Parliaments and Governments of the Dominions (pp. xxv-xxvi).

Twenty years ago an observer would have said that the cause of Imperial Federalism was dead. A league to promote it had proved a failure. Now the cause has revived. The United Kingdom is itself not unlikely soon to become a federal state. This, however, is only a step towards the wider union. There are keen students of Imperialism who say that the next ten years will see the organic union of the British Empire. We are certainly on the eve of striking changes. It is because the forces making for this are so vital that Lord Milner's speeches have an important place in present-day history.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico. By HERBERT E. BOLTON, Ph.D., Professor of American History, University of California. (Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1913. Pp. xv, 553.)

MINGLED with the satisfaction felt in welcoming each new *Guide* published by the Carnegie Institution through its Department of Historical Research is a feeling of regret that Professor Bolton's substantial volume has fallen upon such troublous times. His task has been that of a veritable pioneer, achieved amidst difficulties such as beset no similar undertaking. Our natural impulse is to praise the results accomplished and to express the hope that recent political disturbances have not vitiated them to any appreciable degree.

At the outset the author devotes a few pages to describing the conditions under which he worked and to necessary acknowledgments and explanations. He defines many of the technical terms used, and notes such practical points as working hours and climatic conditions. He then divides the archives of the country into two classes, those located in Mexico City and those outside, devoting to the former a little over four times the space given the latter. No one reasonably acquainted with the field will quarrel with him over this division. Many who may never see Mexico will appreciate the succinct historical sketches of the principal archives, as well as the appendix containing convenient lists of viceroys, archbishops, bishops, and governors. Such hindrances as the lack of suitable manuscript lists or catalogues for even the best repositories, the frequent transfer of material from one archive to another, and the inaccessibility of portions of certain collections have in a measure been overcome by the author's long and patient personal investigations. The index of seventy-two pages and frequent cross-references will do much to correlate the material treated.

Vast as this material is in bulk, Dr. Bolton points out that the greater part of it relates to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and that he has given little space to what does not specifically belong to territory within the present limits of the United States. He has described some important collections in sufficient detail, including dates and proper names, to enable investigators on the spot to determine what he wishes to examine. In most cases these descriptions are not sufficiently definite for the ordering of copies except through a trained intermediary. In other cases he devotes only a brief comment to an archive, especially one of the minor ecclesiastical ones.

The author devotes a third of his entire space to that most valuable and complete of Mexican repositories—"El Archivo General y Publico de la Nacion". Most of those who work in Mexico will wish that he had devoted more space to it, even at the expense of minor collections elsewhere. An historical sketch with a brief description of the present archive serves to introduce its various divisions. Two of these, the "Correspondence of the Viceroys" (344 vols.), and "Royal Cédulas and Orders" (419 vols.) are treated in a general way, at once clear and accurate. The late Professor George P. Garrison briefly described the section known as "Historia" (530 vols.), in the *Nation* for May 30, 1901. The present author supplements this with a forty-page commentary in which every important volume receives due mention. In addition he devotes fourteen pages to the subdivisions of this section, known as "Military Operations" and "Missions", comprising together more than a thousand volumes. He describes in detail only nine of the former, but the careful manuscript calendar of this and other collections made by Sr. Elias Amador and associates is accessible in the National Museum. To many who knew of the previous collections the hundred pages devoted to classifying and cataloguing the contents of the division "Interior Provinces" (254 vols.) and that of "Californias" (81 vols.) will prove a most valuable and unexpected source of information. The volumes classed under "Justice" (ca. 1100 vols.) and "Marine" (ca. 200 vols.) also have considerable value. The remaining sixty-six sections of this archive comprising the bulk of its 7000 odd volumes and bundles contain only incidental references to the United States.

Aside from the description of the Archivo General, the ordinary student will note with interest the twenty pages devoted to the National Museum and the National Library, whose manuscript collections are largely ecclesiastical and archaeological in character. A few minor church and municipal collections call for no extended comment. The archives in the various secretariats—Foreign Relations, War and Marine, Government, etc., occupy a space nearly equalling that given to the Archivo General. Few documents subsequent to 1821 appear in these collections and much material after that date is being transferred to the General Archive. The first document mentioned on page 223 is a case

in point. These collections are particularly valuable for the relations between Mexico and the United States.

Outside the city of Mexico the archives of Guadalajara, Querétaro, and Zacatecas are valuable chiefly for ecclesiastical data; those of Durango, Monterrey, Saltillo, and Chihuahua for political and economic material of a more local character, although containing church records of value. In addition the author mentions the archives of a few minor towns and some private collections, chiefly ecclesiastical. Investigations outside the capital, however, are likely to prove disappointing. As one result of Professor Bolton's work we may hope to distinguish copies and originals more readily and to avoid some of the irritation caused by the excessive duplication of documents in the Mexican and Spanish archives.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

Guide to the Materials for United States History in Canadian Archives. By DAVID W. PARKER. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. Pp. x, 339.)

THE project for a separate building for the Archives of Canada goes back to 1731; but it was not till 1872 that an archivist was appointed and not till 1906 that a separate building at Ottawa was erected for his use. Since then great strides have been made, largely owing to the unflagging enthusiasm of the present archivist, A. G. Doughty, LL.D. At the death of the first archivist in 1902 there were about 3000 volumes of papers under his care; there are now over 20,000. The building erected in 1906 has already become inadequate, and plans are on foot for enlarging it to more than twice its original size. The universities and local historical societies have become interested, and are represented upon an Historical Manuscripts Commission. Copyists are at work in various centres in North America and in Europe, a skilled permanent representative, Mr. H. P. Biggar, has been appointed superintendent in England and in Europe, and many valuable finds are from time to time reported. So rapidly does the work proceed that Mr. Parker has been compelled to add a supplement describing the main additions since 1912. In connection with the work of collecting and centralizing the records of the Dominion, a considerable library of rare pamphlets and maps has been accumulated, and a large collection of engravings and paintings.

Many of the volumes at Ottawa contain not original documents but transcripts. All of these have been carefully collated, and may be fully trusted. Most of them have been calendared in the early annual reports of the archivist, but the calendars, though highly creditable in view of the paucity of resources allowed to the first archivist, and the untrained assistants forced on him by politicians, contain many mistakes, a number of which are pointed out by Mr. Parker. Among the transcripts are copies from the Archives des Colonies of all papers previous to 1763 dealing with French North America (not including Louisiana),

and certain selected documents from the Archives des Affaires Étrangères and the Bibliothèque Nationale. From London have come transcripts of all papers in the Public Record Office dealing with Canada from 1763 to 1840. Of special collections those which have been longest accessible are the Bouquet and the Haldimand Papers (35 and 248 vols.). Bouquet and Haldimand were Swiss soldiers of fortune, who fought on the British side in the Seven Years' War, and afterwards remained in America. Bouquet was prominent in the suppression of the rising of Pontiac, and died in 1765 as governor of Pensacola. His friend and executor Haldimand succeeded him in command in Florida, where he remained till 1773. In 1778 he was again sent out to America as governor-general of Canada, which position he held till 1786. During this later period he had much to do with such questions as the attempt of the French to stampede the habitants, an attempt viewed with mixed feelings by the Continental Congress, with the coming to Canada of the Loyalists, and with the tangled negotiations with Vermont.

Of originals perhaps the most important series is the 539 volumes of governor-general's papers, obtained in 1904. They contain an almost complete set of all the letters and despatches which passed from 1800 to 1867 between the governors, lieutenant-governors, and administrators of Canada and the Colonial Secretaries. Many subjects of great interest to American historians are dealt with in this collection, including the struggles and intrigues with the Western Indians; the War of 1812; the conduct of the federal government and of the border states during the Canadian rebellion of 1837-1838; the various boundary disputes, etc. They may at times be supplemented by an important series of original papers, lately presented by the Earl of Durham, dealing with the year 1838; and by a series of transcripts from the papers of Sir Charles Bagot, British minister to the United States, 1815-1820, and governor-general of Canada, 1841-1843.

Descriptions are also given of the contents of the archives of the various provinces. Of these the most important for American students are those of Quebec, divided into the Provincial Archives, the Judicial Archives, and the Archives of the Archbishopric. In the Archiepiscopal Palace are centred the papers of the various missions, and Mr. Parker occupies forty-seven pages with the calendar of activities extending over two centuries, and over every state in the Union. Mr. Parker does not mention the papers preserved at the sees of the provincial bishops, in which there are said to be a number of scattered papers of more than local interest.

While the greater part of the book is the work of Mr. Parker, the portions dealing with the provincial archives, and with those of Newfoundland, are in the main the work of other scholars, such as Professor C. E. Fryer of McGill University, and Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution.

Mr. Parker and his fellow workers have performed their task with skill and thoroughness, and have given to American historians a con-

venient path to a field of research in which much fruitful work may still be done.

W. L. GRANT.

A Short History of the United States. By JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., Professor of American History, Smith College. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1913. Pp. xiv, 885.)

A ONE-VOLUME history of the United States is likely to appeal mainly to two classes of persons. The student will value it because it gives him a convenient text-book for study or reference, a useful combination of narrative, dates, and names to supplement lectures or guide him in further reading. The so-called general reader, on the other hand, will be drawn to it because of its manageable compass, its comprehensive range, or its literary interest. That the author of such a book should know his subject goes without saying, but his readers will assume that what is said is true rather than novel, and they will not expect to be met by evidences of "research".

To both of these classes of users Professor Bassett's substantial volume will be welcome. The distribution of space accords, in general, with the present tendency to subordinate the colonial period to the period of constitutional development, and, within the constitutional period, to treat relatively at length the events subsequent to the Civil War. Of the forty chapters, eleven are given to the period before 1789; and of these, two relate to the Revolution, one to the "critical period", and one to the making of the Constitution. Of the remaining twenty-nine chapters, twelve are allotted to the period from 1789 to 1861, four to the Civil War, and two to reconstruction; while of the eleven chapters given to the period since 1865, three fall mainly within the years 1865-1877. Opinion will differ, of course, as to whether the close of the Civil War or the close of political reconstruction may best be taken as marking the end of the earlier constitutional epoch; but in the former case approximately one-third, and in the latter about one-fourth, of the volume deals with events well within the recollection of many men now living.

That there will be differences in the handling of different parts of the subject is naturally to be expected. Speaking generally, the chapters on the colonial period are the least successful; they are informing, and the incidents selected are important, but the narrative is greatly condensed, the style is not always easy, and the development of colonial institutions, habits, and modes of thought is unevenly brought out. Throughout the book, too, Professor Bassett touches but lightly the course of constitutional development, in comparison with the attention which he gives to the growth of parties and the expansion of industrial interests. Economic and social matters, on the other hand, are treated with interesting fullness, while on the vexed question of slavery the author preserves admirable detachment, shorn of evasive apology on the

one hand and of unsympathetic rebuke on the other. I cannot think it a peculiarly notable virtue in an historian who is also a Southerner to write impartially to-day about slavery and the Civil War; but anyone who does so think will find Professor Bassett's book worthy of all commendation in this respect. Especially commendable, also, are the chapters which deal with the period since 1865. The Northern and Southern sides of reconstruction are well contrasted, while in the treatment of events since 1877 Professor Bassett succeeds in giving a really connected impression of national development. The narrative is brought down to the election of 1912.

A few *errata* should be noted. The statement (p. 68) that Roger Williams in 1643 "got an act of incorporation under the government of the Long Parliament" is confusing; the Rhode Island patent of that year was issued by the Earl of Warwick and his associates. Penn's grant was not made in payment of debts due from the king to Penn's father (p. 85). The imprisonment of Andros at Boston covered less than a year, not three years (p. 96). The French did not descend the Allegheny, take the fort at the forks of the Ohio, enlarge and strengthen it, and change its name to Fort Duquesne, all on April 17, 1754 (p. 122). The reasons given for the expulsion of the Acadians (p. 124) are quite incomplete, as is the explanation (p. 127) of Amherst's failure to join Wolfe at Quebec. It is hardly true that "the desire to own land was the impelling cause of most of the early migration to America"; it is certainly incorrect to say that "in all the colonies the settlers first took up the richest land, which was along the rivers"; and it is an open question whether, all things considered, agriculture was less profitable in colonial New England than in the South (p. 134). The "conservative leaders" in Massachusetts do not appear to have "suffered a loss of influence" as a result of the witchcraft episode (p. 150). "Protestants" is an unhappy term to apply to those who nullified the Stamp Act (p. 168); and the references to billeting soldiers (pp. 170, 171) need explanation. The tea at Charleston was not stored in damp vaults (p. 175), and Hutchinson's responsibility for the destruction of the tea at Boston was by no means so direct as Professor Bassett implies (p. 176). The name of Nathanael Greene is twice given as "Nathaniel" (pp. 182, 189), and that of Carleton as "Carlton" (p. 184). It was not the wide use of whiskey as a drink, but its use as money, that chiefly caused the Whiskey Insurrection (p. 267). Toussaint "Louverture" is an unusual spelling (p. 298). The national debt was extinguished in 1835, not in 1834 (p. 422). The Rhode Island charter was never legally the constitution of the state (p. 474).

Appended to the several chapters are well-chosen lists of books for further reading. There are fourteen full-page maps, and twelve maps in the text.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

History of the Jews in America: from the Period of the Discovery of the New World to the Present Time. By PETER WIERNIK. (New York: The Jewish Press Publishing Company. 1912. Pp. xxiv, 449.)

IN the present volume the writer proposes to give a history of the Jews not only in the United States but on the whole American continent. To do anything like justice to so important and so large a subject, would require years of study and of careful research. This the author does not pretend to have done but tells us frankly in his preface that his work has been compiled in large measure from the publications of the American Jewish Historical Society and from the Jewish *Encyclopedia*.

The book is therefore in no sense a scholar's history, yet despite its many shortcomings it is a useful work, presenting to the public a considerable number of facts and data concerning the history of the Jews on American soil, arranged in logical order so as to make a fairly connected narrative.

Unfortunately however, Mr. Wiernik assumes that the volumes from which his compilation has been made contain all available material on the subject, and that because he could find no published essay in connection with the history of certain states, there were, therefore, no Jews in those parts. For this reason that part of his work which deals with the largest area of the United States is covered by some twenty pages only, and the activity of Jews in connection with the War of 1812 and the Mexican War is dismissed with about two pages, though considerable material exists on both these topics.

Broadly speaking, the author divides his book into three parts; the first, opening with the Spanish and Portuguese Period, covers twenty-eight pages, and deals with the participation of Jews in the discovery of the New World, their settlements in Mexico, Brazil, the West Indies, and finally their settlement in New York and the English colonies. This is followed by a short chapter on the services of Jews in the Revolution, which covers some seven pages, unfortunately omitting some important names while dismissing others with but two or three lines, and in conclusion there is a short discussion of religious liberty, an account of the Jews in the early days of the republic and their service in the War of 1812.

The second portion, named the German Period, includes the Jewish settlements in the Mississippi Valley, the Middle West, and the Pacific Coast, followed by a most interesting account of the Jewish Reform Movement. Some twenty-five pages are devoted to the Jews in connection with the Civil War and this portion concludes with an account of the Jews of the United States from the end of that struggle down to 1880. The rest of the book is devoted largely to the Russian Period of Immigration.

Throughout the work one is struck by a lack of historical perspective, which becomes more evident as the reader proceeds. Contemporary

events and personages with whom the author possibly has personal acquaintance, loom up in a magnitude entirely out of proportion to more important events and worthies of the past. By way of illustration, the account of the Jews in the American Revolution covers but seven pages, in which the notable career of Francis Salvador, a Jewish member of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, is dismissed with three lines, while considerable space is allotted to the Roumanian question, the Hay note, the Kishinev massacre, and to contemporary Yiddish writers little known even to the general Jewish public, but who are often given an entire page of biography.

The reader is apt to get the general impression that the Jew in America is really the Russian or possibly the Slavonic Jew. To him more space is given than to others, and more important still, he is more sharply focused, so that we almost feel that the author's real purpose was to give an account on the Slavonic Jew in America, and that the rest of the book is largely by way of introduction.

It would have been preferable had the author drawn a sharp distinction between the Jew as a religious entity and the Jew as an American citizen. We cannot admit that a long list of the names of synagogues and their founders constitutes a history of the Jews in America, any more than an account of a number of Catholic churches organized by Irishmen would constitute a history of the Irish in America. A small group of Jews, whose religious affiliations may be slight, may possibly have been more influential in American affairs than even a large group of strictly religious observers. It is a mistake therefore to give minute accounts of the founding and founders of synagogues, many of which have been of small importance even locally, and to permit these accounts to take up more space than events of wider scope. In relation to the country at large, far more important than a list of synagogues and rabbis, is bringing out strikingly the importance of the Jew as an economic factor, his influence in trade and commerce, in science and art, and his recognition in the professions and other walks of life.

The chapter dealing with the Jew in the arts, in the professions, and in science, for instance, should therefore be among the most important in the book. It is given about ten pages in all. Instead of mentioning the names of Da Ponte, Strakosch, Grau, and Conried, who did so much for the entire American public in developing music, in introducing and maintaining grand opera in America, none of these names are even mentioned, nor are their achievements referred to; on the other hand we are given quite a long list of names of Yiddish actors and actresses with the dates of their birth and often of their arrival in America.

Mr. Wiernik deserves commendation for his sincere effort to tell the story of the Jew in America in the form of a complete narrative. His work will be useful for presenting many interesting facts in Jewish history heretofore known to students only, and in showing that, in the older states at least, the Jew is by no means a newcomer but has been a

pioneer from the start. While the book is perhaps only a newspaper man's compilation, it has considerable value in giving the first complete narrative of the coming of the Russian Jew, of his development on American soil, and in preserving data concerning Russian and Yiddish writers and rabbis whose names might otherwise be forgotten. From that point of view it is a distinct contribution, but from a broader point of view the history of the Jew in America still remains to be written.

LEON HÜHNER.

New England and New France: Contrasts and Parallels in Colonial History. By JAMES DOUGLAS, LL.D. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1913. Pp. x, 560.)

DR. DOUGLAS has given us, on the whole, an interesting and instructive book. It is not, as some might presume from its rather inclusive title, a mere reiteration of those general contrasts between the institutions of New England and New France which Parkman, Fiske, and others set before us so vividly a generation ago. The aim of the author has not been to give a connected narrative of events in either region, nor yet to compare their respective political and social institutions from every point of view. The volume is really a collection of essays, each complete in itself, but all of them dealing, nevertheless, with topics which are more or less closely related. Some of the matters which Dr. Douglas has selected for discussion have not hitherto received their due share of attention at the hands of historians, or at least have not been avowedly approached from a comparative standpoint. That is why various chapters of the book, notably those dealing with the Status of Women in New England and New France and Slavery in New England and New France have some real and permanent value.

Throughout the greater part of his volume the author has depended altogether on printed and tolerably accessible sources of information. His knowledge of the printed materials for the study of French-Canadian history is comprehensive, and his judgment as to the relative value of these materials is uncommonly shrewd. The chapter on Some of the Sources of the History of New France affords ample evidence of this. On the other hand the book contains equally abundant proof that the writer has yet to make an intimate acquaintance with the great masses of manuscript which lie in the archives at Quebec and Ottawa. No historian of to-day can expect to give us much that is new, or to vouchsafe opinions with any claim of finality, unless he first takes upon himself the drudgery of exploring a part at least of these literary catacombs. Dr. Douglas, of course, makes no claims to originality either in narrative or opinion; but he does command various other qualifications which must give his book an appeal to many readers. He is a son of Old Quebec and a very loyal son. He has known the place and the people from his boyhood, and his interest in both has deepened with the years. No one can read the author's chapter entitled "A Glimpse of the Past reflected

in the Present" without admiring his keen appreciation of what is fundamental among French-Canadian racial traits as well as the rare breadth of his social and religious sympathies. Dr. Douglas has proved himself to be more than a busy man of affairs who writes history as the hobby of leisure hours. Many pages of the book are put together with the skill of a professional.

In those chapters which deal more particularly with the history and institutions of New England, however, the author is not so much at home. The pitfall of using a partizan work as gospel is one into which he drops with unfortunate frequency. Take the discussion of the Gorton episode (pp. 217-221) as an example. What could be more unfair to this doughty heretic than to settle his fate before posterity on the sole basis of what can be found in the writings of Winthrop and Hutchinson? At the same time the reader will encounter, even in these chapters, much that is interesting and much that gives the fruit of mature reflection.

In its general mechanism the volume is a fine example of American bookmaking. Typography and binding alike leave nothing to be desired.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.

Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673-1835: a Study of the Evolution of the Northwestern Frontier, together with a History of Fort Dearborn. By MILO MILTON QUAIFFE, Ph.D., Professor of History, Lewis Institute of Technology. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1913. Pp. 480.)

IN fifteen chapters, fortified and supplemented by nine appendixes which occupy about one-third of the volume of 480 pages, Mr. Milo M. Quaife, recently chosen to succeed Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites as superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society, has told the story of the Fort Dearborn massacre, and of the beginnings of Chicago. His study of the evolution of the Northwestern frontier is merely incidental to the development of this main theme, and is not comparable to it in importance and thoroughness. In the lesser field he has made an analytical as well as an exhaustive survey of available materials, and has reached conclusions which are at variance with those of earlier writers and chroniclers, but which are presented with circumstantial clearness and force. Uninfluenced by accepted statements whose authority seemed based on undisputed repetition, and entirely unconcerned about keeping unimpaired family traditions founded on events of a hundred years ago, Mr. Quaife has broken new ground and reconstructed the narrative of Fort Dearborn with skill and certitude. In controversial matters, he shows independence of judgment, and sureness in his use of documentary material needful to give authority to his views. Especially is this fact evident in dealing with the history of the Chicago portage. Here the author makes a distinct and valuable contribution to an important feature of Northwestern history, growing out of his researches in connection

with the long-contested litigation, still pending, instituted by the federal government against the Economy Light and Power Company. For a century and a half, fur-traders used the Chicago portage between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River *via* the Illinois, and as Mr. Quaife says, "the comparatively undeveloped state of the field of American historical research is well illustrated by the fact that despite the historical importance of the Chicago Portage, no careful study of it has ever been made. The student will seek in vain for even an adequate description of the physical characteristics of the portage." The contradictory impressions derivable from early narratives of travellers as to the ease of water communication between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River were no doubt due to the seasonal differences of conditions. The evidence taken in the case noted above, which has been printed in four massive volumes, constitutes the most exhaustive study of the character and historical use of the Chicago Portage that has ever been made—a subject of dispute initiated by La Salle when, in 1678, he traversed the Chicago-Des Plaines route on his journey towards the Mississippi.

From the inconclusive testimony of the picturesque procession of travellers who penetrated to, and sometimes beyond, the Illinois country—including La Salle and Tonty, Joliet and Marquette, their French predecessors known as "LaTaupine and the surgeon", and the later comers including Father Claude Allouez, Joutel's party, and Charlevoix, the author ventures the opinion that no fort existed at Chicago during the seventeenth century, and that surmise as to the existence of one had its origin in the misconceptions of cartographers in interpreting the narratives of explorers. As to the erroneous belief in the existence of a French fort in the eighteenth century, that wielder of the long bow, Father Louis Hennepin, is made to bear the blame. Upon his unsupported testimony James Logan founded his report to Governor Keith in 1718, and by the transference of this error thence to Popple's "Map of the British Empire in America", 1732, the blundering belief of its existence was perpetuated.

Coming down to the beginning of the last century, after devoting a chapter to the Fox Wars, another to Chicago in the Revolution, and a third to the Fight for the Northwest, the most interesting part of the present history is reached. Tracing the events which deal with the founding of Fort Dearborn, its nine years of garrison life, and the outbreak and progress of the Indian war whose tragic consequences included the massacre of its ill-fated company, Mr. Quaife furnishes a narrative which is readable, convincing as to disputed points, and which gives evidence of sound scholarship in its use of source materials. The validity of certain treasured traditions is ruthlessly destroyed, the good name of a brave commander is restored after a century of obloquy had attached to it, and myth is dissociated from credible history in a keen analysis of documentary evidence given in extenso in appendixes. This material is of primary importance in extricating the history of Fort

Dearborn from the hundred years of accumulated errors which had their origin in the misstatements of a disgruntled subordinate officer, and the romantic imagination of a writer whose relationship to some of the participants rendered her narrative as valueless in the matter of verity as it is charming in literary value.

The curious fortunes which have attended many manuscripts of historic value worthily include the Fort Dearborn manuscripts within their range. As Mr. Quaife narrates the story, one of the most important of them, a document of several hundred pages, disappeared, apparently for all time, from the home of the Heald family a half-century ago. Another, Lieutenant Helm's massacre narrative, after being lost to sight for three-quarters of a century, was discovered a few years since in the Detroit Public Library. A third, the fatal order of Hull to Captain Heald for the evacuation of the fort, long supposed to have been destroyed, has been for over forty years, unknown to historical workers, a part of the Draper Collection, now the property of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Still other documents gathered with loving care within the walls of the local historical society by citizens of Chicago, by reason of this fact were doomed to perish in one or other of the fires which have twice consumed the society's archives. Such was the fate of the papers of Lieutenant Swearingen, destroyed in the great fire of 1871, a few years after he had presented them to the society. Such was the fate, also, of John Kinzie's account-books with their unique picture of early Chicago in the years from 1804 to 1824.

Fortunately in both these instances a remnant of the original has been preserved to us through the very fact of its retention in private hands. Swearingen retained part of his private papers, and some of these, including the original journal of the march of the troops from Detroit to Chicago in 1803 to establish the first Fort Dearborn, are still in the possession of his descendants. Of Kinzie's account-books a transcript of the names together with some additional data is all that remains. Its preservation is due to the fortunate circumstance that ten years before the Chicago fire the list was copied for the use of an historical worker, who carried it with him when he left Chicago to enter the Union army. More than forty years later, on the occasion of the centennial of the founding of Fort Dearborn, the original books having been destroyed, it was returned to the historical society.

National Supremacy: Treaty Power vs. State Power. By EDWARD S. CORWIN, of the Department of History and Politics, Princeton University. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1913. Pp. viii, 321.)

THIS can hardly be deemed an historical work. The first office of the historian is to make a candid examination of his material for the purpose of ascertaining what is its true content and meaning. Professor Corwin has examined his material with considerable care, but always for

the purpose of ascertaining and setting forth what of it supports a particular theory which he had previously adopted. To the rest he gives but slight attention.

His main proposition is that the treaty-making power of the United States is not restricted by the police power of the states.

The police power of a state is but another name for its governmental power over its citizens. Professor Corwin's thesis therefore is, stated in simpler form, that the treaty-making power of the United States is not restricted by any rights belonging to the states.

For this proposition he finds little authority in judicial decision, and what he does find he sedulously endeavors to explain away. The precedents to be found in our diplomatic history, particularly the Webster-Ashburton treaty as to our northeastern boundary, giving Massachusetts and Maine a pecuniary *solatium*, on account of their assent (see p. 133), also are in the main against him.

What he has got on his side, and leans on pretty heavily, is the marked trend, during the last half-century, towards national supremacy, in the practical ordering of American life. In judging of the real force and nature of this trend, he seems to take the general view urged by Professor W. W. Willoughby, in his *Principles of Constitutional Law*, that the United States constitute a federal state of which they are the sole sovereign, and as such have vested certain governmental powers in the several states, acting within their territorial limits as agents of the central authority. This Germanized conception of the relation between the United States (not the people of the United States) and the states severally permeates Professor Corwin's book from cover to cover. Accepting it as correct, he has no difficulty in declaring the treaty-making power of the United States to extend to every subject on which the states may legislate. The Supreme Court of the United States has not only thus far made no affirmation of this character, but has repeatedly stated that there were limits which could not be transgressed without invading powers reserved to the states or to the people. These utterances Professor Corwin dismisses as *obiter dicta*, and destitute of any logical basis (see p. 190). Nor is any greater merit assigned to the many discussions of our highest court, not given *obiter*, in which the sovereignty of the states is declared, as in *McCulloch v. Maryland*, where Marshall says that Maryland could not interfere with the United States Bank, because "in America the powers of sovereignty are divided between the government of the Union and those of the States. They are each sovereign with respect to the objects committed to it, and neither sovereign with respect to the objects committed to the other."

In criticizing an observation of Senator Root, that the treaty-making power of the United States might be of broader scope than their legislative power, because the states cannot make treaties, Professor Corwin remarks (p. 226), "there are no reserved powers of the States against any power of the United States". This would seem an unthinkable proposition, in view of our constitutional guaranties, even if the states

were not sovereign, unless he means, "There are no reserved powers of the States against any power of the United States exercised pursuant to the grant."

A treaty allowing Great Britain to nominate the governor of New York, in order the better to promote peace along the Canadian border, would be the exercise by the United States of a power granted—that of making treaties—but an exercise not warranted by the nature of the grant, and therefore inefficacious because in contravention of New York's right to a free election of her own officers.

Professor Corwin gives a carefully phrased description of the character of law, which seems hardly to comport with his main position. "These", he says, "are the three dimensions of the law: Logic, which keeps it as self-consistent as may be and therefore prevents the intrusion of whim; precedent, which again rules out the arbitrary and keeps the law calculable; and expediency, which keeps it adaptable, without sacrifice of majesty or dignity" (p. 20). Self-consistency in practice, adherence to precedent, and the expediency of avoiding any sacrifice of dignity to the states, seem logically to tend towards the doctrines of Marshall and Story and Webster and Field.

The author is no friend to putting the constitutional guaranties forward to prevent legislation sought to secure the public interest. Our reliance on them, he says (p. 307), has made us the most litigious people on earth, and only too often substituted in our legislative chambers for the question "Is it good?" the question "Is it constitutional?" Arguments like these will not weigh heavily with most intelligent Americans. The federal government could not have been instituted, nor maintained, except by reason of a general belief that the states have rights, and do not hold them by sufferance, even against the treaty power. "Such", to quote the author's words (p. 248), "is the marvelous cat-like suppleness and longevity of the State-rights dialectic. Thrown out of the window, it still manages to land on its feet; and it has survived many times nine deaths."

The proof-reader allowed some errors to escape his eye, as where, on page 119, a claim under the police power is referred to as one that "could save a State in defeating the reasonable expectations of a franchise from constitutional condemnation", and on page 171, where "infra-State" should obviously read intra-State.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

The Development of American Nationality. By CARL RUSSELL FISH, Professor of American History, University of Wisconsin. (New York: The American Book Company. 1913. Pp. xxxix, 535.)

THIS is volume II. of *A Short History of the American People*, and covers the period from 1783 to and including the election of 1912. Volume I., *The Foundations of American Nationality*, by Professor Evarts B. Greene, is yet to appear.

A book planned on these lines has long been wanted by many college teachers. As to space-allotment, the periods after 1829 receive nearly twice the space given to the developments prior to that date. Of the approximately 340 pages devoted to the periods after 1829, much the greater share goes to the period between 1829 and 1877. And, within these limits, the period between Jackson and Lincoln is given proportionately more extended treatment. For "permanent impress on national character and institutions" (see preface), these mid-nineteenth-century developments are regarded as critical. The deliberate selection of political development as the central point of view, on the ground that "the American people have expressed themselves more fully in their political life than elsewhere, and more so than has been the case with most other nations" (see preface), is welcome. The resulting critical problem of construction is, of course, to make clear the relation of social and economic factors to this central process. The attempt to do this, and, as contributory to this task, to give adequate recognition to the nature and working of sectional influences in national development, are the features of especial interest in this book. Fairly to judge its performance, the limitations imposed by space, already indicated, and those imposed by conformity to the purpose of serving as a manual in a general college course, must be borne in mind.

In the opinion of the reviewer, the book is a highly practical and satisfactory execution of its purpose. The co-operation of economic and social factors in producing transitions in political development is recognized not alone in separate chapters, as in chapters IX. and X. for 1815-1830, and chapters XVII. and XVIII. for 1830-1860, but also all the way along in the chapters more explicitly devoted to political narrative. The result is a clearer exposition of the nature and workings of frontier influences, and of the characteristics of Western as well as of Northern and Southern sectionalism, than is to be found elsewhere in like compass. The essential complexity of the "Middle Period" in its sectional aspect is made fully apparent, but the materials for a firm grasp on the chief features of the process of national development are also supplied. The method is on the whole analytical, but the style is clear and readable. Personalities are subordinated to broad social and economic movements. But effective characterizations of the leading personages and the significance of the views and interests for which they stood are not lacking, and the interest is well sustained.

In the two chapters on the Civil War, emphasis is laid on the methods and degree of effectiveness of the employment by the belligerents of the governmental, economic, and social community-weapons at their disposal. The story of land military operations is relegated to a separate summary account in five pages. For the purposes of the book, this perhaps unconventional treatment seems well suited. The important thing in this period for college students of this generation is the behavior of the two, then hostile, communities, not the progress of campaigns.

In a book which makes political development the central theme, one might wish for fuller treatment of such topics as the part played by party organization in the work of practically adjusting the theoretically separated powers of government in our constitutional system. But, perhaps, of a book of this compass this is asking too much.

CHARLES WORTHEN SPENCER.

The Writings of John Quincy Adams. Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. Volume II., 1796-1801. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1913. Pp. xxvi, 531.)

Just before John Adams succeeded to the presidency, Washington wrote a letter expressing the hope that he would not withhold merited promotion from his son, Mr. John Quincy Adams, for fear of the charge of nepotism. "I give it as my decided opinion", continued the President, "that Mr. Adams is the most valuable public character we have abroad, and that there remains no doubt in my mind that he will prove himself to be the ablest of all our diplomatic corps." The young diplomat—he was not yet thirty years of age—was still at the Hague when this letter was written, for though he had been appointed minister to Portugal, his commission did not reach him until April, 1797. He continued at his post until the following June, an interested observer of the revolutionary movement in the Batavian Republic.

The duties of his office left him ample leisure to study current events and to extend the circle of his acquaintances. His despatches are full of incisive comments on the foreign policy of the Directory and on the probable influence of European politics upon American affairs. The post of minister was full of uncertainties in these troubled times. "Until Mr. Pickering was appointed to the State Department", he wrote, "my letters were scarcely ever answered, and of more than fifty letters that I wrote the receipt not of five was ever acknowledged. With regard to *me* and my mission, it might not be of material consequence; but the case was the same with all the other ministers of the government in Europe." For this apparent neglect, the winds and the waves of the inhospitable Atlantic may have been partly accountable. It is not improbable, too, that some despatches were intercepted. Neutral vessels and their cargoes were never safe. It is open to question whether students of our diplomatic history have taken sufficient account of the imperfect means of communication in this age of sailing vessels.

Adams had no sooner reached London, preparatory to sailing for Lisbon, when he learned of his appointment as minister to Prussia. There were two reasons for this appointment. The treaty made ten years before with Prussia had expired and its renewal was thought desirable, subject to important modifications which Adams was to secure by diplomatic indirection. Besides this ostensible object, the President and his Cabinet had a further consideration in mind. In the uncertainties in which American relations with France were involved, it was

thought desirable to watch "that intriguing, insidious, and convulsed government and people"—to quote Senator Tracy. "It is believed", wrote Tracy to Wolcott, "that John Q. Adams, placed at Berlin, can do us much service, as he is unquestionably the most intelligent, and at the same time most industrious man, we have ever employed in a diplomatic capacity." Adams himself was firmly convinced of the necessity of watching France. Admitting the correctness of Washington's view in general—that we ought to keep clear of European entanglements—he believed, nevertheless, that "even to effect this, constant and early information of the current events and of the political projects in contemplation is no less necessary than if we were directly concerned in them". For this task he fortified himself by an extensive correspondence and by an assiduous reading of Parisian journals. His very infirmity of disposition—a censorious and suspicious attitude of mind toward his contemporaries—served him well in this age of chicanery. If ever a diplomat needed to cultivate the habit of doubting *prima facie* evidence, it was in the days of Sieyès and Talleyrand.

Observation of contemporary politics had convinced Adams that the French Directory meant to revolutionize America, as it had Holland and the lesser states of Europe, with the aid of a discontented domestic faction. The attempt to turn the presidential election of 1796 in favor of Jefferson and the Republicans, he had observed with contempt. He was confident that the temper of the American people was too sound to be affected by such intrigues. His tone became much less optimistic as war with France threatened. Logan's mission caused him much anxiety, because this individual was the agent of a party opposed to the administration. "A regular organized faction negotiating with a foreign power, whether for peace or war, is the mischief." The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions seem to Adams "meant as the tocsin of insurrection". At the same time his faith in the enduring quality of the Union was unshaken. "Things appear to me very far from being ripe for the serious struggle which must, indeed, some day happen between the Ancient Dominion and the Union."

On July 11, 1799, the immediate object of Adams's mission was accomplished by the signing of a treaty of amity and commerce with Prussia. From this time on the cares of office sat lightly upon him. He spent many weeks in travel through Silesia and Saxony; and many an idle hour in the translation of Wieland's *Oberon* and of one of Gentz's essays. The letters descriptive of his journey through Silesia, which were published in Dennie's *Portfolio*, are not included in this edition of his writings. He expressed great interest in his friend Dennie's literary venture. Indeed, as his retirement from diplomatic service seemed near, his thoughts turned again to a literary career. In general, however, the editor has excluded matters of personal interest rather rigorously from this volume, holding no doubt that enough of Adams's intimate life has been revealed in the *Memoirs*.

The reviewer is puzzled to know just why so many interesting letters in this, as in the earlier volume, have been relegated to foot-notes. They seem quite as important as many which have been included in the body of the text. The use of italics to indicate parts of despatches which were originally in cipher has resulted in some confusion, since the editor has not always taken care to note when italics serve this purpose and when they represent underscored passages in the original manuscript. Aside from these slight blemishes, the work of the editor has been well done.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

The Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis, Federalist, 1765-1848.

By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, Ph.D. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1913. Pp. xv, 335; viii, 328.)

THERE need be little hesitation, I think, in greeting Mr. Morison's volumes as one of the most important contributions to American political biography that has lately appeared. In the range and accuracy of its scholarship, the judicial candor of its appraisals, and the general breadth of its historical view the work leaves little to be desired. Mr. Morison, himself a descendant of Otis in the fourth generation, has had access to large collections of family papers hitherto little used, including a number of private collections in the hands of Otis's friends or correspondents. Otis's own letters, principally to his wife, are used freely in the text; those appended to the several chapters, on the other hand, are chiefly those of his correspondents. Quite aside from their significance for Otis's own career, the volumes throw valuable light on the careers of some of his contemporaries, and afford at the same time a striking illustration of the wealth of historical material, still largely in private hands, which must be explored before many an important episode in American history can be fully understood.

To most students of American history Otis is remembered chiefly as a staunch adherent of the Federalist party, as an active promoter of the Alien and Sedition Acts, and as the moving spirit of the Hartford Convention. Of each of these phases of Otis's life Mr. Morison gives an account which is at once detailed and comprehensive. His study of Otis as a Federalist leader supplements and continues Dr. Anson E. Morse's *The Federalist Party in Massachusetts*, which carries the story only to 1800, and it makes clearer than before the relations between Otis and the "Essex Junto", and the grounds which separated him from that knot of high Federalist devotees. In addition, these pages bring out, in an illuminating way, the fundamental connection of Federalism with the dominant social life of Boston and eastern Massachusetts; for it was as true of the party in Massachusetts as it was of the old Whigs in England, that while some men attained to Federalism and a few had it thrust upon them, far the larger number of Federalists of importance

were born such, and lived and died in that political atmosphere. In this respect Mr. Morison's volumes are a contribution of first-rate value to the still little-known subject of state political history; and the chapter (vol. I., ch. XVI.) on the Federalist machine is an excellent example of scholarly research. At only one point do I venture to think the evidence inconclusive. Mr. Morison takes issue (I. 324) with Professor Channing's statement that "the opposition to the embargo in New England was mainly political"; and thinks that while the Federalists were not slow to make political capital out of the embargo, and even exaggerated its effect, "all economic data" point to the conclusion that the main opposition was because the measure was disastrous to industry and commerce. The "economic data" which Mr. Morison presents are, indeed, significant, but they are not, I think, sufficiently ample to settle the question conclusively.

Of Otis's connection with the Alien and Sedition Acts we have also a detailed account, especially noteworthy for the care with which the course of events which led up to the acts, and the growth of the Federalist policy of suppression and coercion, are traced. Mr. Morison points out incidentally that later criticism of the Alien Act as "an arbitrary and unconstitutional measure" loses much of its force in the light of the Chinese Exclusion Act, in whose support the Supreme Court "simply repeats Otis's old arguments" as a complete constitutional justification. Otis's advocacy of the Sedition Act, on the other hand, is properly condemned as, "except for his promotion of the Hartford Convention, the worst mistake of his political career".

The account of the Hartford Convention fills six chapters of volume II., while a seventh chapter gives all the hitherto unpublished documents and letters relating to the subject which the author has been able to find in the Otis manuscripts and other collections. Mr. Morison's narrative of this episode supersedes all others, and comes, I think, as near to definitiveness as the available material is likely to make possible. That the convention was treasonable in its purpose or that it deliberately or covertly plotted secession, cannot of course any longer be maintained. Its report is characterized by Mr. Morison as "on the whole the most temperate and statesmanlike document ever issued from a sectional movement in the United States". On the other hand, it is equally clear, as Mr. Morison says, that "the very existence of a convention of disaffected states at this time was encouraging to the enemy and a menace to the Union" (II. 123). That Otis should have continued to defend the Convention, in season and out of season, to the end of his days is creditable, perhaps, to his chivalrous loyalty to a cause, but it hardly did credit to his statesmanship, or, for that matter, to his general sense of the fitness of things.

For the rest, these volumes are an informing picture, gracefully drawn, of the political and social life of Boston and Massachusetts at the end of the eighteenth and during the first half of the nineteenth centuries. As an aristocrat by birth, education, and social surround-

ings; as a gifted orator and gracious host; as a vigorous and undaunted champion of political principles which he believed to be right, however much his section or the country might repudiate them; as a recognized leader of a great party; as a hardworking member of Congress whose name is connected with important legislation; as mayor of Boston; and as an opponent of anti-slavery agitation and the Garrisonian movement, Harrison Gray Otis was everywhere a distinguished figure. That his identification with the Hartford Convention did not destroy his popularity is evidenced by the honors which continued to be bestowed upon him by his city and his state for thirty years after that fatuous incident. His memory passed with the passing of the political dominance of the caste to which he belonged, and with the growth of a new nationalism which neither he nor his associates could comprehend.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

Die Monroedoktrin in ihren Beziehungen zur Amerikanischen Diplomatie und zum Völkerrecht. Von Dr. Jur. HERBERT KRAUS. (Berlin: J. Guttentag. 1913. Pp. 480.)

THIS is an historical, non-controversial account of the origin and development of the Monroe Doctrine written by a German scholar in German after thorough study of all sources of information accessible. So numerous are the author's references, so orderly his treatment, so laborious his method, that the work runs the risk of being thought a trifle ponderous. Nevertheless, it seems a full and fair and particularly a well-proportioned account of the famous "doctrine" or policy. A third part discusses the Monroe Doctrine in its relation to international law.

Writers upon the Monroe Doctrine are apt to emphasize its non-colonization clause or its non-intervention clause, according to their prejudices, and to minimize that other proviso, repeated now and then since, wherein the United States pledges its abstention from European politics as a kind of equivalent. Not so does our author. Alongside of one another, as of equal importance, he places the Russian American question of boundary, the danger from intervention by the Holy Alliance in Spanish America, and the political isolation of the United States. Washington's Farewell Address, our attitude towards the French in Louisiana, the Madison doctrine as to Cuba, as well as the original Monroe Doctrine and the *Isolations-Prinzip* announced in it—all alike, says Dr. Kraus, were dictated by fear, fear of foreign influence, even of foreign domination. Thus the Monroe Doctrine came gradually and as it were necessarily into being, an outgrowth of the right of self-defense.

This was the original doctrine. Thus far it was aimed at "attempts of European powers through forcible compression of the political freedom of American states or through new colonization on American soil, to increase their political power in America". This was the first funda-

mental principle, the second lying in the resolution of the United States not to mix in European politics.

The development of these two ground principles is narrated by the author in great fullness and with painstaking care.

After two decades of slumber, the doctrine was reapplied and enlarged by Polk in 1845. Of Polk's version of the doctrine the author makes much. It was aimed at Russia and Great Britain in the far northwest—using much the same language that Monroe had done—to prevent a hemming in of the progress of the United States by foreign powers through their further acquisition of territory, no matter how. Here the altruistic attitude of the earlier period, protecting fellow-republics and thus indirectly protecting itself, gives place to a frank defense of material interests.

And so we are led on by the familiar steps, in the matter of Yucatan, of the Mosquito coast, of Mexico, of Santo Domingo and Cuba, of the Canal question, of Venezuela, of Colombia and the Canal question again, down to Magdalena Bay, which is the doctrine's very latest manifestation. It is a very orderly story, not unsympathetically told. The point of view of a competent foreign observer of one's national affairs is always interesting and valuable. His very aloofness enables him to put the proper values upon each step in the long development. On the other hand, perhaps he takes the whole too seriously and fails to differentiate between what is of prime importance and what is negligible, between a president who means much and one who means little, between a policy adopted with enthusiasm and one simply endured, between a Grant and a Cleveland. For instance, I doubt if we lay much stress upon the thought that Grant improved upon Polk by objecting to the transfer of a colony of one European state to another in America, insisting that instead the colony should become an independent power.

But the author's sympathetic insight is evident when he says of Maximilian's Mexican adventure, that here we meet the Monroe Doctrine only incidentally, yet it is the clearest example of the doctrine's application yet met with. Which might lead to the reflection that the nearer we come to a perfectly clear case of self-defense, the less necessary is it to call upon the Monroe Doctrine in justification.

Cleveland's claim to sit in judgment upon the Guiana-Venezuela boundary dispute, the author regards as an extension of the application of the Monroe Doctrine beyond anything theretofore, yet resulting immediately from it and not enlarging its nature. Olney's "Instructions" to Bayard, however, he really does criticize, as misleading. For Olney sets out by disclaiming the idea that the Monroe Doctrine founds a universal protectorate, then radically changes and declares the United States to be sovereign on this continent and their fiat to be law. Dr. Kraus adds that this saying is of much significance in the relations between the United States and the South American republics. But he calls Cleveland's message and its results a great diplomatic victory.

The author's account of the Canal diplomacy is full and fair, doing justice to the change of policy of this country from joint neutralization to single-handed protection soon after 1880, but space forbids more than a single quotation: "Thereupon the United States engineered a revolt of the Colombian province of Panama."

He closes his discussion of the Monroe Doctrine by examining its means of execution and its territorial limits, insisting that from the outset in 1823, force was threatened, which is not generally held.

What now have been the history and the tendency of the compensatory part of the Monroe Doctrine, the *Isolations-Prinzip*? In cases too numerous to mention here, this part of the policy has been violated, thinks the author. It is true that occasionally, as at the Hague and Algeiras conferences, the United States has renewed its ancient disclaimer. But its acts have falsified its words. Moreover, the reason for the isolation has passed with the growth of the country's power.

That the Monroe Doctrine is not a part of international law or of American public law, that it is founded upon the right of self-defense, but that when employed aggressively not defensively this is self-stultification: these truths are developed in the later chapters.

And so this very thorough, very scholarly, very instructive treatise closes with a look into the future of the doctrine, veiled both to the author and his readers.

When done into English, as it should be, the typography of the many English citations should be properly proof-read, for at present they are atrocious.

T. S. W.

The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848. A History of the Relations between the two Countries from the Independence of Mexico to the Close of the War with the United States. By GEORGE LOCKHART RIVES. In two volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1913. Pp. viii, 720; vi, 726.)

IN these two volumes we have the first comprehensive account of the relations between the United States and its southern neighbor from the recognition of the independence of Mexico to the conclusion of peace in 1848, in which are taken into account the group of monographic studies which have appeared during the past decade. These studies, in the preparation of which the late Professor Garrison may justly be called the pioneer, have resulted in recasting the traditional historical narrative of the events which led to the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War. The writings of Garrison, Adams, Smith, Bourne, Bolton, and others, working upon hitherto unpublished sources, have rendered obsolete the theory of an aggressive pro-slavery conspiracy, and have placed in a stronger light the really nationalistic elements which influenced the territorial expansion of the forties. In this decade, also, there have been printed extremely important source materials: Polk's

Diary, the letters of Calhoun, Buchanan, and Taylor, the *Texan Diplomatic Correspondence*, and the *Documentos Inéditos* of Pereyra and García, to name the most obvious—each inviting a restatement of the whole southwestern narrative. The time was, therefore, ripe for the synthesis of this fairly large body of special studies and printed sources. Mr. Rives has made the most of his opportunity. He has written a work timely from the standpoint of historiography as well as of politics. In his preface the author states that until recently no complete account of the relations between the United States and Mexico was published because "the mere fact of the existence of negro slavery in the United States imparted an element of bitterness into every discussion of the subject in this country" and, in the second place, "it is only within a comparatively short time that the archives of the United States, Mexico, Great Britain, and Texas have been thrown open freely for examination". From the latter statement one might be led into expecting that the manuscript archives of all of these governments had been the main reliance of the author, for it is well known that with the exception of the Texan correspondence, only small portions of the diplomatic archives of the countries named have found their way into print. The resources of the Department of State at Washington have been freely used; those of the War and Navy Departments apparently not at all. The archives at London and at Mexico are referred to but rarely. This is said not so much in criticism of Mr. Rives's book, as to suggest that after all we have not as yet a work, based as a definitive account must be, upon the mass of material, truly enormous, reposing in the Mexican and other archives. The author has drawn upon the printed materials, carefully and fully, and while he maintains an independent attitude, in no sense blindly following the lead of the studies mentioned, he gives due credit to his predecessors in the field. In this respect but one omission is suggested. Professor Bourne's important essay "The United States and Mexico 1847-1848" seems not to have been noticed; indeed the "all of Mexico" danger is not emphasized.

Throughout the work the author has persevered successfully in his attempt at a sympathetic insight, while his comprehension has served to rationalize his sympathy in that he does not, as so many have done in treating of the period, place Mexico always in the right and the United States always in the wrong. In realizing that many of the differences between the two countries have been due to mutual ignorance of character, aims, and institutions, Mr. Rives is extremely cautious in passing judgment as to the right and wrong of either party. If the author's general attitude can be characterized in a word, it is that he is always judicious and usually cheerful. Even the intriguing antics of Colonel Anthony Butler do not seem to irritate or annoy him. Polk's relations with Santa Anna through Atocha and MacKenzie, and those of Scott with the same Mexican leader at Puebla in the summer of 1847 pass in review as mere incidents in the narrative and call for no decided moral judgment.

Opening with a discussion of the Florida treaty the author while properly discrediting the idea that Texas had been a part of the Louisiana purchase, does not risk a judgment as to the wisdom of the limits of 1819, but agrees with J. Q. Adams that the great merit of that treaty was to acquire a title running to the Pacific. A brief but clear sketch of the Mexican War of Independence is followed by two excellent chapters on the Mexican people, wherein he emphasizes the military basis of the Mexican political and social structure so often at variance with the constitutional arrangements. Our diplomatic relations opened unpropitiously under the able but not tactful Poinsett, whose activity in Mexican politics seems not to be sufficiently considered. The notorious Butler followed. The animosity produced by the Texan revolt which persisted until the Mexican War, naturally grew out of the suspicions aroused by our first two diplomatic agents at Mexico. Jackson's cautious attitude as to Texas, the author suggests, was possibly due to his ill health, which permitted Forsyth materially to shape his policy. The key to the foreign policy of Texas during Van Buren's administration is found in the fact that Texas was conscious that she could not long obtain permanent peace with Mexico, so that either intervention by the United States or mediation by some European powers was aimed at. Tyler's and Upshur's professions of the danger of British interference with slavery in Texas, with the calamities which would thereby result to the United States, the author considers to have rested upon a sincere belief in the truth of such reported designs. The account of the negotiation and rejection of the Calhoun treaty reveals nothing new, and the first volume closes with the entrance of Texas into the Union.

The second volume opens with an excellent digression upon the Oregon question and its settlement, and an account of the Mexican War follows, naturally filling the greater part of the volume. This is the least admirable portion of the work. The author expressly disclaims any expert military knowledge, and, although as to at least one battle he seems to have familiarized himself with topographical conditions by personal observation, his treatment does not materially change any of the generally accepted facts of the war. He throws, however, an interesting light upon the administration of the war in showing the complete unpreparedness of Polk's administration, the general ignorance of the topography of Mexico, and an absence of system for transportation and subsistence which would be amazing had not the events of a half-century later familiarized us with conditions unquestionably worse.

Mr. Rives's work is in every way excellent. His personal familiarity with diplomatic intercourse is shown in the large-minded way in which he attacks the problems of our diplomatic history. Having a nationalistic and not sectional point of view, he is quite free from partizan bias. He has in a thoroughly scholarly way assiduously examined all of the materials, original and secondary, which may be considered as reasonably accessible, and he has written his narrative clearly and interestingly. Altogether it is a notable contribution to the litera-

ture of American history. The bibliography and index are excellent but the maps hardly rise to mediocrity and are not in keeping with the excellence of the text.

J. S. REEVES.

John Brown, Soldier of Fortune: a Critique. By HILL PEEBLES WILSON. (Lawrence, Kansas: Hill P. Wilson. 1913. Pp. 450.)

KANSAS contributions to the controversy over the career of Old John Brown abound in extremes of eulogy and denunciation. In the books of Redpath, Hinton, and Wilder, he figures as patriot, martyr, and demigod, while writers of the dissenting school give him a very different character. Among the latter no one has surpassed Mr. Wilson in violence of condemnation. He contends that the John Brown who "lives in poetry, in song, in human hearts" is a fiction for which the hard, disillusioning facts afford no justification. These troublesome facts, as he finds them, are that John Brown's pre-Kansas business career was discreditable; that the story of his early hostility to slavery will not bear investigation; that he went to Kansas in 1855 mainly to retrieve his broken financial fortunes; that in the desperate winter of 1855-1856, no other available source of relief appearing, he abandoned the Free State cause and entered upon a career of outlawry; that "a brutal desire to get possession of their horses" led him to kill five men on the Pottawatomie Saturday night, May 24, 1856, and that the attack on Harper's Ferry was not simply a raid or foray, but a deliberate attempt to inaugurate servile war.

To support his interpretation of John Brown's career Mr. Wilson presents little if any new evidence. Possibly this statement should be qualified in regard to the Pottawatomie murders. It is said that another and confederate "band of thieves" aided Brown in disposing of the horses captured in this ghastly affair. The contention, argued at considerable length, may be true but it is substantiated by nothing more decisive than plausible conjectures. Mr. Wilson's book is essentially a revaluation of evidence already before the public.

Now in regard to the present state of the controversy two or three points may be regarded as substantially or at least probably settled by the half-century of investigation and discussion. One of them is that on the whole John Brown was a mischief-maker in Kansas. His record there—what with the horse-stealing, the brigandage, and the dreadful night upon the Pottawatomie—does not read well in the light of the present day. Then the seizure of Harper's Ferry violated every conceivable maxim of prudence and reason, unless by some possibility the town could be made the base of an instant and formidable servile insurrection. Though the pikes, revolvers, and Sharps' rifles in his possession seemed to be inconsistent with the declaration, John Brown denied that he had any such purpose. Again, if he had been killed in

the assault upon the engine house at Harper's Ferry there is no reason to believe the world would ever have heard of him.

Something *after* Harper's Ferry created the John Brown whose soul goes marching on—a fact in the strange history, not of recent discovery, but definitely announced more than a quarter of a century ago. That something was the heroic, self-sacrificing, transfiguring idealism, which emerged in the storm and stress of Charlestown. It had appeared before in letters, in speeches, and even in the discussions at Dutch Henry's Crossing. This idealism Mr. Wilson finds to be only the mask of a successful hypocrisy and his misinterpretation is the capital and fatal defect of an aggressive and vigorously phrased book. Theories of insincerity—a trait which friends in Massachusetts and enemies in Virginia, with ample opportunities for observation, failed to detect—will not do. A more tenable conclusion, and one which the lapse of time seems to confirm, is that he was “the victim of mental delusions”.

LEVERETT W. SPRING.

The Life of Robert Toombs. By ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS, Ph.D., Professor of American History, University of Michigan. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1913. Pp. ix, 281.)

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS's mastery of the field of Georgia politics needs no reassertion. It is on that basis reinforced by an extensive search for Toombs manuscripts that this work has been reared. Needless to say it is painstaking and detailed. Granted what he has set out to do, few objections are in point; such as are, involve questions of treatment. For example, it is doubtful whether at times there is not too much political detail. You cannot always see the wood for the trees. And yet it is on just this side that the book is strongest. A comparison with the earlier life of Toombs by Stovall emphasizes the superiority of Professor Phillips both in exact knowledge and in skillful delineation of political transitions. An excellent illustration is the way in which it is made plain how Toombs, a typical Southern Whig, was driven, in the Compromise of 1850, through the sheer logic of circumstance, almost to a face-about from his original position. But even in this admirable chapter we could afford to have fewer statistics of Congressional balloting and more of luminous presentment of the central figure. In some later episodes Toombs almost disappears—engulfed, one might say—in the general history of politics. The three great Congressional battles in which Toombs figured previous to 1860—the election of a speaker by the Thirty-First Congress, the Compromise of 1850, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—are traced through the intricacies of parliamentary war with enthusiastic patience. Whether they justify all of Professor Phillips's conclusions is another matter. When he says of the Compromise of 1850 that if Toombs “had followed the opposite course at any stage, the adjustment would almost certainly have been defeated”, he assigns to Toombs a pre-eminence which some of us

cannot justify even from Professor Phillips's own statement of the case. In his searching examination of Georgia politics following the compromise, Professor Phillips shows his full strength as a political historian and makes an important contribution to the history of the "Constitutional Union" movement. He assigns the control of the movement to a triumvirate of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb. Yet he allows them to remain shadowy background figures while the foreground is filled with the detail of politics; and he does not make plain the share of influence each exerted. In this episode, as here presented, Toombs may be likened to an actor in the flies who periodically comes on, pronounces a great speech, and retires. But is that actual politics? Somewhat similar is the rôle given Toombs in another episode still more important and like the foregoing admirably handled from the point of view of the whole. This is the merger of the Southern Whigs in the Democracy. Its inevitability, the stages of the event, are made convincingly clear. But what of Toombs—not the political unit but the human being? His internal drama, the transformation within his consciousness, is left largely to inference. A third instance in which the individual is sunk—or nearly sunk—in a stream of tendency is the secession movement of the winter of 1860–1861. Again Professor Phillips's grasp of the general movement excites one's envy. Toombs, however—his changes of tone, his apparent inconsistencies—remains incidental. Here the unsolved biographical problem is: what were Toombs's plans when he came to Washington in the autumn of 1860? Did he come armed with an alternative—guarantees for Southern rights, if possible; secession, if necessary? Did he come with his mind made up to force secession through? Was he at sea? Any of these explanations is conceivably the true one. But which? Professor Phillips appears to incline to the second though he does not commit himself and expends his strength on the general drama centring about the committee of thirteen. Still another vexed question Professor Phillips leaves where he finds it. He has no solution for the mystery of the Confederate presidential choice at Montgomery. Unlike Professor Dodd he does not accept the tradition that Toombs for a time was agreed upon for president and that the election of Davis represented a sudden and as yet inexplicable recombination of factions; but he cautiously refuses to support any other theory.

The unillustrious Confederate career of Toombs, overshadowed as he was by Davis—"the unapproachable martinet", in Professor Phillips's phrase—is adequately sketched; as are his pathetic later days.

There remains one general objection to the book which Professor Phillips would meet by pointing to his preface in which he frankly states that he is not primarily interested in biography. But if so, why call his book *The Life of Robert Toombs*? This close study of a political stream of tendency—able and valuable as it is—lacks after all the real presentment of a personality. Though many extracts from Toombs's speeches are given, these serve in the main as bits of the mosaic of politics rather

than as touches of portraiture. It is the portrait quality—a rare thing, to be sure!—that is absent from this admirable political monograph. And after all it is portraiture with regard to Toombs that we want. Outside the Georgia entanglement it is not yet proved that he is essential to the understanding of the political conflicts of 1845–1860. The opportunity before the biographer of Toombs is to make plain how it was that a politician as high-minded as Toombs was driven to regard those conflicts as he did. To-day, when such writers as Professor Dodd are seeking to revolutionize our view of the whole Confederate movement, when one set of conventional appreciations are passing and a new set are threatening to precipitate themselves, what we want above all is a convincing clew to the inner consciousness of the Southern leaders. Do the theories applied by Professor Dodd to Calhoun and Davis—the monopolistic theories, so to speak—find additional support in the life of Toombs, or, when that life is fully analyzed and translated into modern terms, do they begin to find in it their refutation? It is in answering such questions that the biographer of Toombs can serve his generation. Let us hope that Professor Phillips after so admirably clearing the ground intends eventually to attack the subtler problem.

N. W. STEPHENSON.

History of the United States of America under the Constitution.

By JAMES SCHOULER. Volume VII. *History of the Reconstruction Period, 1865–1877*. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1913. Pp. xvi, 398.)

THIS book marks the completion of a task begun many years ago “without fear or favor”, the first result of which was a volume published in 1880. Twice since then—in 1891 when the fifth volume appeared, which brought the narrative to Lincoln’s inauguration, and again in 1899 with a sixth volume on the epoch of Civil War—the author believed that his contribution to United States history was finished. But the temptation aroused by the accessibility of the Johnson manuscripts in the Library of Congress, and especially by the publication of Gideon Welles’s *Diary* could not be resisted, for, as Mr. Schouler says, “borne onward by some invisible current”, he felt forced to aid in vindicating Johnson’s memory. So far as it is concerned with Johnson’s presidency, the present book is based upon articles by the author (hitherto printed) and upon lectures delivered by him at Johns Hopkins and Harvard universities. Familiar with the circumstances and incidents of President Grant’s two terms, Mr. Schouler was still further moved to draw on his personal recollections and, in particular, on Mr. Rhodes’s account of the period, for the sake of bringing the narrative to the opening of the Hayes administration. The whole book is a well-balanced story of twelve momentous years.

That portion of the book devoted to Johnson’s administration is distinctly the more carefully studied and matured. With sufficient regard

to other topics of political and social significance, the author has given chief attention to the story of the struggle for political advantage which culminated in the President's impeachment and trial for treason. Believing that Johnson understood quite as well as Lincoln that events by the spring of 1865 had tended to reconstruct the South, and that Johnson's policy of punishing only the leaders in the South, of clemency to the masses, and of restoring republican governments there was essentially sound, Mr. Schouler relates the unfortunate circumstances which brought this presidential policy to its doom. The narrative, scattering admiration of Johnson all along the line, is well suited to the author's design of formulating a new estimate of Andrew Johnson. With a wider comprehension of the general situation than Gideon Welles could possibly have had, the historian has reproduced essentially the figure that stands forth so clearly in Welles's *Diary*. The point of view makes large allowance for Johnson—too large, I think—and is so definitely in the nature of a plea as to fail to be satisfying. Questions keep rising: Is Johnson's record really "hard to comprehend", even though it presents various and contradictory aspects? Had he seen his way to favor the Fourteenth Amendment, would he yet have succeeded in reconciling his position with those of his antagonists in Congress led by such men as Thaddeus Stevens, Benjamin F. Butler, and Charles Sumner? That Johnson was a man of vigorous intelligence and uprightness of intent, there cannot be much doubt. But with his lack of judgment, with no adroitness, and with inflexible and uncritical veneration of the Constitution—failings which Mr. Schouler does not ignore—can he fairly be termed a "constructive" executive (p. 142)?

The remainder of the book is concerned with many details of Grant's administration—notably with its financial and foreign policy, with the outcome of reconstruction during the period, and finally with the disputed election of 1876. To such an extent has the author depended for his facts on Mr. Rhodes that he has given almost no attention to the constantly growing and comparatively recent monographic literature on the subject. True, he cites several of the articles in the "After the War" series which appeared in the *Century Magazine* (1912-1913). But he has completely ignored Professor Dunning's careful considerations on Southern conditions to be found in *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* (1907). It is not quite clear why Mr. Schouler should pass over the scandal of the Tweed Ring, a matter which aroused at the time widespread comment and brought Samuel J. Tilden into deserved and high repute. The author's estimate of Tilden, it should be said, is peculiarly discerning and distinctly higher than that of Rhodes. In two sections termed, respectively, the District of Columbia (pp. 179-193) and Centennial Celebrations (pp. 280-311), Mr. Schouler has brought into his narrative certain new considerations, enlivening the accounts in both sections by personal reminiscences.

The following errors of statement stand out: The House resolution of February 20, 1866, was a concurrent, not a joint, resolution (p. 53).

The phrase "indecent orgy" (p. 73) as applied to Johnson's "swinging around the circle" was Lowell's (*North American Review*, October, 1866, p. 125). The first of three decisions of the Supreme Court "during the summer of 1867" (p. 101) was handed down on December 17, 1866; the other two decisions came on January 14, 1867. Is it not straining the evidence to assert that Stanton "had mainly composed Johnson's veto message on the Tenure of Office act" (p. 110)? To write that Arthur as vice-president "bore himself with unexpected dignity, composure and discretion" (p. 210) is to overlook the general opinion that he compromised the character of his office by his speech at the Dorsey dinner, by his prevention of the election of a president *pro tem.* of the Senate, and by his lobbying at Albany on behalf of the election to the national Senate of his friend, ex-Senator Conkling. Misprints or minor inaccuracies in quotations will be found on pages 2, 66, 234, 246, 250, 253, 263, 289, 301, 302, and 343. The index to the seven volumes is poor.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

The Granger Movement: a Study of Agricultural Organization and its Political, Economic, and Social Manifestations, 1870-1880.
By SOLON JUSTUS BUCK, Ph.D., Research Associate in History,
University of Illinois. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
1913. Pp. xi, 384.)

THE young social reformer will find this book wholesome reading. He will discover both the significance and the dangers of his programme. Its significance, in that the present forward-looking movement is firmly rooted in popular and justifiable agitations a generation old; its dangers, in the possibility of stirring masses of people into unwarranted expectations. The grievances of the farmers of the seventies sound strangely familiar to-day.

Therefore it is a real service that Dr. Buck has rendered in this well-written, fair-minded, and exhaustive study of a movement that is not only historically interesting, but as he himself indicates, was the precursor and in fact the formulating force of that period of American history, not yet closed, "in which the dominant feature has been a struggle of the people, or parts of them at different times, to preserve the political and economic democracy which they believe to be endangered, if not actually destroyed, by the rising power and influence of great accumulations and combinations of wealth".

Dr. Buck states the causes underlying this farmers' movement of the decade of 1870-1880, describes the organization of the Grange, around which gathered the forces of reform, and devotes a chapter each to the political, the co-operative, and the social and educational features of the movement. In three chapters there is an admirable analysis and summary of the attempt to control the railways, which was, in popular interest and perhaps in ultimate political importance, the dominant

feature of the "Granger" movement. The culmination of this attempt at control came in the decisions of the United States Supreme Court on the "Granger" cases. Dr. Buck well says: "No true conception of the present status of the law as to railway regulation can be obtained without an understanding of the principles involved in the Granger cases." It is an interesting fact for the sociologist that the principles of public control of railway corporations were first clearly enunciated through a popular uprising of farmers, and in opposition to the accepted views of the business world, if not of the courts. Dr. Buck shows that the Senate committee—the Windom committee—appointed to investigate the subject, reported in 1874 "that the problem of *cheap* transportation is to be solved through *competition*". This the farmers denied. They asserted both the right and the necessity of the government to regulate and control railway rates. The Supreme Court sustained the fundamental propositions set forth by the farmers.

Dr. Buck states clearly in his preface that this book is not a history of the Grange as an organization, but rather of "the general agrarian movement which centered around" the Grange. Yet one who feels keenly the significance of the Grange as a farmers' organization which is still potent, cannot help wishing that the author had either not used the term "Granger movement" in a study in which the Grange occupies a more prominent part than perhaps it actually played in the agrarian movement of the decade, or that he had always used the word "Granger" in quotation marks. The old misconception that the Grange as a great farmers' organization is synonymous and its influence synchronous with the so-called "Granger" movement should no longer be perpetuated.

Not only the young social reformer, but the student of contemporary agricultural movements will find this study exceedingly helpful. We are entering a new era of rural improvement, and we need to know the rootage of the present discussion. It will be found in considerable measure in the movement Dr. Buck describes. It might be wished that the author could see his way to an equally comprehensive, scholarly, lucid, and interesting study of the American agricultural organization movement subsequent to 1880.

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD.

Autobiography of George Dewey, Admiral of the Navy. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1913. Pp. xii, 337.)

"REACHED Manila at daylight. Immediately engaged the Spanish ships and batteries at Cavite. Destroyed eight of the former, including the *Reina Cristina* and *Castilla*. Anchored at noon off Manila." Twenty-nine words! And this the only entry in the diary of the victor of Manila of the greatest event in his life.

It is not surprising then to read of the natural reluctance of Admiral Dewey to talk about himself and his distinguished achievement. But,

fortunately for us, the solicitations of his friends prevailed, and to them the country owes a debt of gratitude for the final publication of this stirring account of the admiral's naval campaign in the Philippines together with the admirable reminiscences of the Civil War which the great sea-fighter has at last given us, together with the recollections of his whole professional career. And it should be gratitude all the more sincere when we realize how few of our naval officers have given us the record of their lives and added the essentially personal, the human side to the official accounts that, all too often, are the only sources available to the historian.

Though best known to us as the hero of Manila Bay, Admiral Dewey has not confined himself to an account of that memorable day, but he has given us a well-balanced, well-written narrative of a long and eventful life. In fact his autobiography might almost be called the story of the development of the United States Navy. When the admiral was an acting midshipman at the Naval Academy, sixty years ago, we were just commencing the construction of our first steam frigates, Perry was opening Japan to foreign intercourse, and California was becoming Americanized. In 1858 young Dewey was cruising in the *Wabash*, a dreadnought in her day, and making a tour of the Mediterranean ports "under official auspices". Then came the Civil War, and with it service on the Mississippi River during the passage of the forts below New Orleans and at Port Hudson. For a young man of twenty-four, Dewey was having more than his share of responsibility, but he proved himself equal to the test and in every way the apt pupil of his "ideal of the naval officer"—David Glasgow Farragut—in whose school he shared many of the dangers which that great sailor so triumphantly encountered.

Yet all these events and those which followed, were but preliminary to the crowning achievement of that active life. The years following the Civil War were years of discouragement, years of service in ships "interesting only because of their antiquity", and years of slow promotion. But the time came when our old wooden relics ceased to crowd the lists of our navy registers. New steel-hulled armored ships at last were authorized, and with this awakening came the birth of the "White Squadron" and Dewey's "preparation". For as chief of the Bureau of Equipment and president of the Board of Inspection and Survey he gained an experience and a knowledge of modern ships-of-war that proved the best kind of "grounding" for the work that was to fall to his share in the early months of 1898.

In January, 1898, Commodore Dewey hoisted his broad pennant on the *Olympia*. Four months later the battle of Manila Bay was fought—seven thousand miles from his nearest home base of supplies and fought with ships none too plentifully supplied with ammunition and with no reserves within reach. The admiral's account of the operations of the vessels under his command during those months of anxiety is no invention of the imagination, but a description of facts written with an

accuracy that makes the volume of more than ordinary interest and of great value to the historian. The personal side, the human side, of those months of anxious work in Philippine waters is presented modestly, yet vividly, and the reader is led through the various phases of the navy's work by the man himself who so skillfully handled and fought those ships and who, through his patient and admirable handling of delicate situations, did more than any other to adjust the various local and international complications that followed the American succession in the islands.

It is to be regretted, however, that the frankness which characterizes the admiral's recollections of the incidents of the earlier years should have had to give way to the extreme reserve with which he writes about what are, perhaps, the most interesting years of his historic career. One can naturally understand how a man in his official position could not speak his will with the freedom of an ordinary citizen, but how many stories, how many anecdotes of his life afloat, must the admiral know, which are not set down in these pages! There are only 292 pages of text, all printed in large type. Why could he not have given us more?

ROBERT W. NEESER.

Theodore Roosevelt: an Autobiography. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1913. Pp. xii, 647.)

At the very beginning of his Foreword Mr. Roosevelt says: "Naturally, there are chapters of my autobiography which cannot now be written." Of course these unwritten chapters are the ones most persons will want to read. The present volume does not anywhere take the reader behind the scenes. The expectant reader who hopes to find some fresh material and illuminating sidelights revealed by a man who is undoubtedly one of the most interesting personalities of his times, if not the most interesting, will be disappointed. There is no quality of mellowness in what Mr. Roosevelt has chosen to set down of his adventures and activities in life. The story is written in full flight. The narrative touches only the high places in Mr. Roosevelt's career, in its galloping progress. No American of this generation has had a fuller life than Mr. Roosevelt or has come into contact with human activities at so many points. It would be difficult to write a dull book about him or even for him to write a dull account of himself. These chapters of his autobiography are interesting and valuable as far as they go.

The historian of after years who may have occasion to go to Mr. Roosevelt's autobiography in search of information about public questions in which he is interested will not find the volume a final authority. He will find Mr. Roosevelt's side of controversial questions warmly and enthusiastically presented, but he will not find much to guide him of value about the views of the opposition. One of the factors of Mr. Roosevelt's success in politics, as in other affairs, has been his engrossment with and his confident and unshaken belief in his own viewpoint.

His account will have to be contrasted and compared with opposing accounts to discover the middle ground where the truth lies.

This reviewer thinks that he is not mistaken in saying that Mr. Roosevelt in this autobiography expresses but one regret in his rapid review of the most salient incidents and episodes of his own life. He recalls but one thing that he has done where he would have acted otherwise if he had his life to live over again. An Italian lady translating his volume of essays, *The Strenuous Life*, rendered the title in Italian as *Vigor di Vita*. Mr. Roosevelt says: "I thought this translation a great improvement on the original, and have always wished that I had myself used 'The Vigor of Life' as a heading to indicate what I was trying to preach, instead of the heading I actually did use." It perhaps would not be fair to say that this is the only regret Mr. Roosevelt has in life as he looks back hastily and approvingly over his career, but apparently it is the only one he expresses in the present volume.

Mr. Roosevelt has divided his account into fifteen chapters, and the headings he gives them provide an accurate survey of what he has to tell. He calls them Boyhood and Youth, the Vigor of Life, Practical Politics, In Cowboy Land, Applied Idealism, New York Police, the War of America the Unready, the New York Governorship, Outdoors and Indoors, the Presidency, Making an Old Party Progressive, the Natural Resources of the Nation, the Big Stick and the Square Deal, Social and Industrial Justice, the Monroe Doctrine and the Panama Canal, and the Peace of Righteousness.

By far the most interesting and revealing chapters are the Vigor of Life, In Cowboy Land, and Outdoors and Indoors. They are sprinkled with interesting and amusing anecdotes, characterizations, and slight personal adventures that disclose the quality of the man and the undeniable personal charm and attractiveness that have won for him so many stanch and loyal friends, ranging from ambassadors through all types of citizenship to second-rate prize-fighters. The eye of the reader is caught by such striking bits as this: "Battling Nelson [a prize fighter] was another stanch friend and he and I think alike on most questions of political and industrial life; although he once expressed to me some commiseration because, as President, I did not get anything like the money return for my services that he aggregated during the same term of years in the ring." While Mr. Roosevelt was in Africa he carried in his pocket a gold-mounted rabbit's foot for luck, presented to him by John L. Sullivan, "than whom in his prime no better man ever stepped into the ring". There are good anecdotes about the men he knew in cowboy land and the men in "my regiment". One, for example: "On one occasion Buck Taylor, of Texas, accompanied me on a trip and made a speech for me. The crowd took to his speech from the beginning and so did I, until the peroration, which ran as follows: 'My fellow-citizens, vote for my Colonel! Vote for my Colonel! And he will lead you, as he led us, like sheep to the slaughter!'"

There is a singular lack of these *personalia* about more distinguished men with whom Mr. Roosevelt came into such intimate contact at one time and another. Of John Hay, for example, it is only said: "John Hay was one of the most delightful of companions, one of the most charming of all men of cultivation and action." Surely Mr. Roosevelt must have half a hundred or more good John Hay stories to tell.

The chapter on Outdoors and Indoors, showing, as it does, Mr. Roosevelt as a lover of children and of nature, is quite the most charming and delightful chapter in the book. Every page of it offers tempting quotations. Mr. Roosevelt writes about birds with the true feeling of an ornithologist; not as a scientific man, but as a bird lover and a close observer. It is amazing how he could have discovered so much about them when his defective eyesight is considered. In this chapter Mr. Roosevelt tells something of the books he has read and the books he likes, an amazing range, and revealing unsuspected verdicts: "I happen to be devoted to Macbeth, whereas I seldom read Hamlet (though I like parts of it)." He confesses to being "very fond of simple epics and of ballad poetry", but does not "care to read dramas as a rule; I cannot read them with enjoyment unless they appeal to me very strongly". But "children are better than books". And again: "There are many kinds of success in life worth working for. It is exceedingly interesting and attractive to be a successful business man, a railroad man, a farmer, or a successful lawyer or doctor; or a writer, or a President, or a ranchman, or a colonel of a fighting regiment, or to kill grizzly bears and lions. But for unflagging interest and enjoyment, a household of children, if things go reasonably well, certainly makes all forms of success and achievement lose their importance by comparison." That is much better stuff than Mr. Roosevelt's four-thousand-word letter to Attorney General Bonaparte, and is genuine autobiography, which a good part of the book is not. It is these personal and intimate chapters that give the present volume its value, rather than Mr. Roosevelt's controversial treatment of past or present public questions.

Kentucky in American Letters, 1784-1912. By JOHN WILSON TOWNSEND. With an Introduction by James Lane Allen. In two volumes. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press. 1913. Pp. xxxi, 368; xii, 394.)

MR. TOWNSEND is well fitted in point of patience and accuracy to perform the rather formidable task of assembling and introducing the nearly two hundred authors here represented, and of permitting the reader a taste of the quality of each. Not all of the two hundred, indeed, can fairly be called Kentuckians: out of a group of sixty of the better writers we find only thirty-seven who were born in Kentucky, while several of the remaining twenty-three stayed there too short a time for social naturalization. Specific instances of Mr. Townsend's amiable concessiveness in this respect, despite the rigidity of his plan

as set forth in the preface, may be found in the case of Will Levington Comfort, who was born in Michigan in 1878, lives there now, saw Kentucky as a reporter for a few weeks during 1898, for some months during 1911 (when he was seeking local color for *She Buildeth Her House*) and has since then made occasional horseback trips through the state; and in the case of Charles Hanson Towne, who, although born in Louisville, left Kentucky before he was five years old, to live thereafter in New York.

An examination of the roster proper shows Kentucky to have produced or attracted such local and provincial poets as Thomas Johnson, "the Drunken Poet of Danville"; Robert Morris, the Masonic bard; John M. Harney; Hew Ainslie; Fortunatus Cosby, jr.; George D. Prentice; William F. Marvin; Thomas H. Chivers; Henry T. Stanton; James H. Mulligan; Stephen C. Foster; Robert B. Wilson; John Patterson; Laura S. Portor; Margaret S. Anderson; and Joseph S. Cotter, the negro writer. The superior artists in verse, who have a touch or more of universality in their work, are Theodore O'Hara, Sarah M. Piatt, Daniel Henry Holmes, and Julia S. Dinsmore (these two being especially worthy, alike in craftsmanship and insight), and, finally, Madison Cawein, the truest lyricist in Kentucky's history.

Among the historians may be mentioned such names as those of Mann Butler, the Collinses, father and son, Zachariah F. Smith, and Robert M. McElroy. The chief orators are Henry Clay, Richard H. Menefee, and Thomas F. Marshall. The statesmen include Clay, Jefferson Davis, Zachary Taylor, John C. Breckinridge, George G. Vest, and Oscar W. Underwood.

In fiction we should select the names of Gilbert Imlay, Catherine A. Warfield, Francis H. Underwood, Mary J. Holmes, John Uri Lloyd, Zoe A. Norris, Mary R. S. Andrews, George Madden Martin, John Fox, jr., George Lee Burton, George Horace Lorimer, Alice Hegan Rice, Irvin S. Cobb, and James Lane Allen. Henry Watterson, of course, is the conceded dean of Kentuckian and Southern journalism, and Oliver Tilford Dargan, in dramatic work, is a name not to be slighted.

Mr. Townsend's informational work is safer than his critical conclusions. He greatly over-praises O'Hara's "The Bivouac of the Dead". He characterizes Langdon Smith's "Evolution" as "one of the cleverest, smartest things done by a nineteenth century American poet". In the reviewer's opinion, it is precisely "smartness" that has made and is making against sincerity and power in American literature. And again, he declares James Lane Allen "the foremost living American master of English prose"—at the best a too facile judgment. Nevertheless, Mr. Townsend's comments, if often superlative and uncritical, are at times humanly apt and striking.

The work, as a whole, although not systematically arranged, is not only a satisfactory compilation for students of literary effort and achievement in Kentucky, but is also a useful contribution to the history

of letters in America. The preface deals briefly with the interest shown in Kentucky by outside writers, and with the history of Kentucky magazines. Mr. Allen's "solvent principle" for the writing of an adequate history of American literature, as expressed in the introduction, is provocatively interesting.

GEORGE HERBERT CLARKE.

Gabriel Richard, Sulpicien, Curé, et Second Fondateur de la Ville de Détroit. La Mémoire du P. Rasle Vengée. Par N.-E. DIONNE, LL.D., M.S.R.C., Professeur d'Archéologie Canadienne à l'Université Laval. [Galerie Historique, VI.] (Quebec: Laflamme et Proulx. 1911. Pp. xv, 191.)

"Ce modeste livre", as the author calls it, is here judged by the requirements of the series in which it forms volume six—a series aiming to give, in simple manner, only essential facts for general readers.

This number deals with the life, character, and service of two early missionaries, Gabriel Richard and Sébastien Rasle. The learned author's grasp has enabled him to put compactly into clear and interesting narrative a large amount of information not elsewhere easily accessible to the general public. The presentation is not always dispassionate. The author has a deeply sympathetic appreciation of the courage and devotion with which these men met overwhelming difficulties. The general point of view is reflected in the phrase with which the author turns to narrate the life of Sébastien Rasle, "oubliant pour le quart-d'heure notre origine française et notre titre de catholique" (p. 134); and the general tone, in the closing words on Gabriel Richard, "Honneur et gloire à cet homme de bien!" (p. 108).

About three-fourths of the book is given to Richard. A brief introduction outlines the founding of the Sulpitian seminary at Baltimore (1791-1792) and the advent of Richard as one of its first teachers. In nine short chapters is traced the career of Richard from the beginning of his work among the missions of the Illinois country in 1792 to his death at Detroit in 1832. He was stationed at Detroit in 1798, and his life from that time is shown to have been intimately connected with every vital phase of Michigan's growth towards statehood.

The original material used for this sketch is mainly the parish records of Ste. Anne's (manuscript in the Burton library, Detroit) and Richard's correspondence, particularly with Bishops Carroll, Fenwick, and Flaget. Characteristic of the sketch is the textual reproduction of frequent and long quotations from this correspondence, which is drawn largely from Shea's *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*. Use is made of the contemporary Detroit newspapers and of the usual government publications (1823-1825) which bear on Richard's political activities. The *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* are freely used and references are made to the writings of Campbell, Cooley, and Farmer on the history of Detroit and Michigan.

The absence of a bibliography and of all but the most scant citations of sources in the foot-notes, is in keeping with the popular character of the work. An appendix contains a chronological list of Catholic missionaries to the Kaskaskias (1670-1798), a similar list of Catholic missionaries and curés at Detroit (1704-1798), and the naturalization papers of Richard in English and French. At the end of the book is an alphabetical list of names, but there is not a general index.

The sketch of Sébastien Rasle is frankly polemical, as the title, "*La Mémoire du P. Rasle Vengée*" would suggest. Of the four chapters, chapter II. alone is given to Rasle's life and work. The object of criticism in the remaining chapters is James Phinney Baxter's *The Pioneers of New France in New England*, in which that author questions the authority of Charlevoix, who is the principal source of information about Rasle. The method is that of producing counter-weighting opinions of other historians. In chapter III. a letter is introduced written by Bishop Fenwick in 1833 attributing the Indian murder of Rasle at Norridgewock in 1724 to instigation of the English, who are said to have subsequently sought to besmirch the memory of the missionary in order to justify their action. The author has made his case quite as convincing as this method permits.

On the whole this little book is a welcome popular presentation and hints that the author is capable of giving us scholarly biographies of these men.

GEORGE NEWMAN FULLER.

Historia de Chile durante los Gobiernos de García Ramón, Merlo de la Fuente y Jaraquemada (Continuación de los seis Años de la Historia de Chile). Por CRESCENTE ERRÁZURIZ (Fray Raymundo Errázuriz), Correspondiente de la Academia Española. In two volumes. (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Cervantes. 1908. Pp. xiv, 379; 383.)

THE purpose of the author is to place in a clear light the characters and customs of the period from 1605 to 1612 by portraying the minute transactions, not usually found in a general history.

The narrative commences with the appointment in 1605 of García Ramón to the governor-generalship of Chile. He replaced Alonso de Rivera, who in spite of his excellent handling of a difficult situation had incurred official displeasure. Ramón was given a large army and was well supported by the *encomenderos* whose favor he had won in his previous administration. He was unequal to his task and, after five years of fruitless warfare, died from a wound received in battle. His successor Merlo de la Fuente, although hated by all, was successful in several campaigns against the Araucanians. The new governor-general, Juan Jaraquemada, took office in January, 1611. He was quite the opposite of Fuente, excessively prudent and dilatory. It was only

natural then that the reappointment of Rivera in 1612 should have caused general rejoicing.

This was brought about by Luis de Valdivia, a Jesuit priest, who held the opinion shared by most churchmen of that period that the right to demand personal service from the Indians was the chief cause of the continual strife in Chile. Accordingly in 1605 he went with Ramón to aid him in abolishing this institution. He was powerless, however, against the representations made to Ramón by the *encomenderos*, gave it up, and returned to Lima. Here he soon imbibed the ideas of Juan de Villela as to the desirability of adopting a policy of defensive warfare in Chile. This plan so impressed the new viceroy, the Marqués de Montes Claros, that he sent Valdivia to Spain to present the matter to the king and the Council of the Indies. The Jesuit won his point and further secured the appointment of Rivera as governor-general of Chile on the plea that he was the man best fitted to put these plans in operation. The narrative concludes with Rivera's installation in office.

These two volumes will be more valuable to the student of social conditions than to the student of history. The mere relation of facts is fully as well done by Claudio Gay and even better by Diego Barras Arana in their general histories of this period. Errázuriz, on the other hand, gives a full account of the life of the Spanish colonists at this time, portrays the difficulties under which the early settlers labored, such as floods and Indian attacks, and describes the festivals held in honor of new officials and on state occasions.

He depicts the hard life of the Spanish soldier in the following words:

A más de cargar al soldado español á subido precio la carne y el trigo y las medicinas, también se les ponía á cuenta de su sueldo la cuerda que usaban para dar fuego á mosquetes y arcabuces y la pólvora y el plomo para las balas con que combatían al enemigo; de consiguiente, el soldado hacía tanto mejor negocio cuanto menos usaba de sus armas de fuego (I. 226).

The importance of the *Audiencia* in the civic life of colonial Chile is shown in his description of the installation ceremony, in which he says:

Se necesitaban, entre otras cosas, un palio; cuatro ó cinco bandas de tafetán de diversos colores y bordados; varios paños de seda, tapetes y bufetes; una corona de plata dorada con piedras engastadas á la redonda; gualdrapa y guarniciones de terciopelo negro para el caballo que había de tener la honra de llevar el Real Sello en la solemne procesión; dos cojines de terciopelo carmesí (II. 8).

The interest of the narrative would have been heightened had the author related the peculiar circumstances which lead to Rivera's replacement by Ramón and whether Valdivia was finally successful in his efforts to establish a war for defense only. The points in which the author disagrees with Barras Arana, Molina, and Gay are only minor ones, as, *e. g.*, the ultimate desire which led Valdivia to undertake such a work, whether his mission to Chile was a secret one, and whether Ramón knew why Valdivia had been sent to Spain.

OSGOOD HARDY.

MINOR NOTICES

An Introduction to the Study of Social Evolution: the Prehistoric Period. By F. Stuart Chapin, A.M., Ph.D. Department of Economics and Sociology, Smith College. (New York, The Century Company, 1913, pp. xxii, 306.) This work is intended as an introduction, on the one hand to ancient history, and on the other hand to sociology. It covers a vast deal of ground in three hundred pages, really in much less than three hundred pages, since about eighty maps, pictures, and diagrams are interspersed in the text. The subject-matter is neither prehistoric archaeology, nor social anthropology, nor social psychology; but rather an amalgam of these three branches of learning. A captious reviewer, especially one rigorously trained in historical method, might be inclined to dismiss the book forthwith, as only another exhibition of our jaunty American habit of skating over the thin ice of scientific generalization with no sense of the unplumbed and treacherous depths beneath. To a critique of this sort the author might reply that in an age when knowledge is pursued into such minute ramifications, there should be a place for a survey which disregards details, takes the broad view, and attempts to fuse into an organic whole the results of many special studies. Such, at any rate, has been Dr. Chapin's purpose in preparing his volume.

The book is divided into two parts and nine chapters. Part I. on Organic Evolution summarizes recent biological contributions on variation and heredity, presents an outline of the Darwinian theory, and concludes with a survey of the evidence relating to the origin and antiquity of man. Part II. on Social Evolution deals with the phenomena of association, the influences of physical environment, social heredity (chiefly a study of imitation), the distribution of races and peoples, the characteristics of primitive culture, and finally, the transition at the beginning of historic times from tribal society to civil society, from primitive culture to archaic civilization. On all these subjects the author presents an outline of recent inquiries and speculations, almost wholly those of American authors, together with lengthy citations from their works. The points made are further driven home by liberal use of illustrations, most of them really helpful, but some (*e. g.*, figs. 30, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60) occupying space that would better have been filled by the text.

As a manual to be put into the hands of college students just beginning their historical and sociological studies, the work ought to fill a useful place. The style is generally simple and interesting, the pages are not overloaded with details, and the main lines of development are clearly set forth. It is, of course, a question whether better pedagogical results could not be obtained by a more intensive and limited study of selected geographical areas. An investigation, say, of aboriginal Australian or American Indian sociology, under the guidance of a competent instructor, might be made to elucidate nearly all of the major topics presented by the author, while the impression created thereby on the stu-

dent's mind—ever attracted by the concrete—would be more lasting. However, this is a matter of practical pedagogy, which teachers of the subject must needs determine for themselves. In any case Dr. Chapin's essay has the merit of pointing the way to future syntheses of a more ambitious character.

HUTTON WEBSTER.

The Origin of Property and the Formation of the Village Community. A Course of Lectures delivered at the London School of Economics by Jan St. Lewiński. [London School of Economics and Political Science, Studies in Economics and Political Science, no. 30.] (London, Constable and Company, 1913, pp. vi, 71.) Primitive forms of economic institutions can be only imperfectly known through the study of early documents. Hence these incomplete sources are supplemented by studies of peoples who are to-day living in stages which we have left behind.

The circumstances are particularly favorable in Russia for an examination of the origin of property, since the government has for more than thirty years investigated the forms of property found among the different nomadic and settled peoples of Siberia.

The principles involved in the formation of property may be reduced to four:

1. The economic principle (the law of least effort); 2. The principle of numerical strength; 3. The growth of population; 4. The relation of nature towards human wants (natural resources).

Among nomadic peoples there is no difficulty in replacing the pasture left behind for another equally good, because of the large supply of free land. At this stage land has no greater value than air has for us, and property is unknown. With the passage to a settled mode of life a cultivator who is deprived of a piece of land in which he has incorporated his labor, would be obliged to repeat the burdensome task and, to replace the loss, would probably have to secure a tract more distant from his dwelling and hence inconvenient. In both cases he loses time, compared with which the effort of appropriation is relatively small, and is, for this reason, economically rational. Hence property originated from two sources, labor and individual scarcity. When the poor find only inferior land or none at all open for their occupation, the old order ceases to be in the interests of all. Thus the right of free appropriation is abolished when the community recognizes that land has become socially scarce. As population grows the number of those wanting land increases, and those demanding a division of the soil become the stronger party. In dividing land, account is always taken of the labor expended upon it in order that the interest of the individual in good cultivation of the soil may not be destroyed. But increase of population does not everywhere produce the same results because some soil is fertile, some is barren. Property has thus evolved in accordance with four principles and such factors as race, imitation, and legislation, have had no important part in its formation.

Lewinski criticizes the generalizations of Maine, Laveleye, and Seebohm, relative to common property and the village community and shows that there exist many exceptions to their principles. His points are well taken, but he does not make his own principle of numerical strength sufficiently clear. The idea that the prevailing form of property is dependent upon the numerical strength of its adherents is confused with the more fundamental principle that the community cannot permanently tolerate forms of property contrary to the economic interests of the majority. This is the weakest point in his argument, which otherwise is convincingly worked out.

F. STUART CHAPIN.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Buckinghamshire. Volume II. (London: printed under the authority of His Majesty's Stationery Office. To be purchased from Wyman and Sons, Fetter Lane, E. C., 1913, pp. xix, 458, 165 illustrations, 42 plans, colored frontispiece, and an Ordnance map marked to show the sites of the monuments described in the Inventory.) In the autumn of 1908, the English government appointed a Royal Commission "to make an inventory of the ancient and historical monuments and constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilization, and conditions of life of the people in England, excluding Monmouthshire, from the earliest times to the year 1700, and to specify those which seem most worthy of preservation". In 1911, the commission issued a volume relating to Hertfordshire; in 1912, one on the southern half of Buckinghamshire, and, recently, one on the northern half of that county. In pursuance of the plan of investigating the home counties first, Essex will next be dealt with. The commission is performing its task in a manner that calls for, and has, indeed, received, the highest praise. The value of its work to historians, archaeologists, genealogists, architects, artists, and tourists can scarcely be overestimated. The volumes follow a uniform plan. The one noticed here contains an "historical summary" (35 pp.), a "sectional preface", which calls attention to the principal examples of each of the main classes of monuments—earthworks and prehistoric monuments; Roman remains; ecclesiastical and secular buildings, and their fittings. Following a map, showing the division of the county by hundreds, comes the inventory, arranged by parishes which are in alphabetical sequence. The descriptions of the monuments give in concise form a vast amount of detailed information, to which the remarkable index of nearly 100 pages—it is combined with the index of volume I.—is an ideal guide. The index not only indicates persons, places, and single things, but lists chronologically under many class headings and subheadings a great number of objects. For example, some 250 items are entered under "brasses"; some 400 "inscriptions" are referred to, and some 700 doors and doorways. The numerous and varied illustrations are of the best quality; and the many drawings, plans,

and sketches, which have not been published, are open to inspection by properly accredited persons at the office of the commission in Scotland House, and will ultimately be deposited in the Record Office. The accuracy of the work appears to have been carefully safeguarded. Every description has been checked by a member of the commission's investigating staff.

F. G. D.

Mediaeval Byways. By L. F. Salzmänn, F.S.A. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913, pp. xxii, 192.) If one does not take this little book too seriously—no more so than the author—he will find it to afford a few hours of entertaining reading. The half-dozen essays it contains were first published in the *Oxford and Cambridge Review* and are now reprinted “not to instruct and edify, but rather to interest and amuse”. With this in mind, although the author provided neither citations nor index, he secured the services of Mr. George Kruger to provide thirty-eight illustrations designed to give a somewhat humorous turn to the incidents depicted. The various chapters are entitled, Wise Men—and Others; Highways; Coronations; Death and Doctors; Those in Authority; Ivory and Apes and Peacocks. Under these headings are discussed in a cheery fashion such topics as alchemists and magic; the journey of Geoffrey of Langley on his embassy to the Tartar court in 1292; coronation costumes and feasts; cases of accidental death; the use of gems in medicine; the tyrannies and troubles of officials; and the importation of elephants, bears, ostriches, and the like. The author has culled many curious incidents from the records, printed and manuscript, ranging throughout the “olden times” and extending occasionally to the seventeenth century.

H. L. C.

Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters. Translated and edited by Preserved Smith, Ph.D. Volume I., 1507–1521. (Philadelphia, Lutheran Publication Society, 1913, pp. 583.) This important volume is practically a source book for the early years of the Lutheran movement. It contains translations of nearly five hundred letters by or about Luther, prior to June, 1521. The material comes not merely from the first three volumes of Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel* (1884–1889), but also from a wide range of other publications, many of them very recent. Dr. Smith is here giving his readers the benefit of the extensive sources which he consulted in preparing *The Life and Letters of Martin Luther* (1911); and he has also made a special search to secure fresh and vital documents for the present volume. The senders or recipients number over 180; they range from the pope and the emperor down to obscure monks, and represent the chief countries, social classes, and theological tendencies. The inclusion of characteristic letters of Erasmus, Hutten, Aleander, and Eck gives the selection truly comprehensive character; yet the backbone of the book consists of epistles by or to Luther himself. Dr. Smith does not give quite all of Luther's letters; he

has "omitted a few which were either unimportant or repetitious or which were already translated" in his biography of the reformer. The present collection is so full that it is a pity that the thirty-eight epistles in the *Life* were not reprinted here.

As translator and editor, Dr. Smith has stood for free and idiomatic renderings, and for elaborate notes. Nearly four hundred of the *dramatis personae* receive individual elucidation; and the facts and dates are gathered with conscientious care. That some few errors should lie coiled among the masses of detail was practically unavoidable; so far as detected they concern proper names, such as the variants Alfeld, Alveld, and Alverd (pp. 341, 424), and Neustadt an der Orla, which masquerades as "am Odor" (p. 61). Such slips are neutralized by the elaborate index.

It is chiefly in the chronology of the letters that Dr. Smith advances knowledge; but his numerous and fruitful suggestions propose after all but slight changes, within the month or the year, and will not cause any fundamental revision of current conceptions of Luther's development. Textual emendations are few; in the case of a Greek poem by Melancthon (p. 144) the radical proposals need explanation and justification by printing an emended Greek text. The aim of the editor was however not to furnish examples of humanistic Greek, but to present in English the correspondents of one who, for good or ill, dominated his eventful age. Supplemented by the official documents and other Latin texts given in Kidd, *Documents illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (1911), Dr. Smith's book makes it feasible to teach the history of the Lutheran movement down to the Diet of Worms, by the use of original sources. It is to be hoped that the editor will be able soon to complete the three or more volumes that are to carry the correspondence on to the death of Luther.

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL.

Lauzun: un Courtisan du Grand Roi. Par le Duc de la Force. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1913, pp. viii, 255.) This volume on Lauzun is one of the group of biographies in process of publication under the general title *Figures du Passé*. The volumes are popular in character and are written, for the most part, by men with a better standing among the *littérateurs* than among the historians. This volume, like the volume on Mirabeau by M. Barthou, has the earmarks of the amateur, but of an amateur who has investigated his subject as M. Barthou did not investigate his Mirabeau. As an appendix to a sketch of 240 pages, we have a bibliography of seven pages, listing sources, both printed and manuscript, secondary works, and even articles in reviews. Unfortunately, the references to the archives and the titles of the printed works are incomplete, thus robbing the bibliography of a good part of its usefulness. The student of the age of Louis XIV. will find good matter in this interesting volume on "a courtier of the Great King". Lauzun was

not a great statesman like Colbert, a great minister like Louvois, or a great general like Turenne. He was chiefly a king's favorite, who came within an ace of marrying a royal princess, was imprisoned for ten years, and after his release came back to court to play a great rôle, although not to recover his place as king's favorite. He was a brave soldier, a captain of the king's guards—before his disgrace, commanded the French troops at the battle of the Boyne, and aided the queen of James II. to escape from England. A companion of the prince who was later to become Louis XIV., Lauzun lived through the reign of the great king and died an octogenarian in the reign of Louis XV. At first sight, one questions why his life should appear in a series containing the biographies of men who were undoubtedly of some historical importance. A little thought justifies the writing of the volume. Lauzun is an interesting type of an important class, the courtier, a class that must be understood if the age of Louis XIV. is to be understood, and it is in the lives of the important individuals of the class that we must acquire our knowledge of the group. The Duc de la Force has supplied good matter for the study of an important side of the age of the great French king, and his bibliography, displaying great industry, will be a valuable aid to the historian who would pursue the matter further.

FRED MORROW FLING.

The Official Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 1722-1747. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by John Charles Fox, F. R. Hist. S. [Camden, third series, vol. XXII.] (London, the Society, 1912, pp. 283.) The text of General Williamson's *Diary* occupies less than half the volume under review. According to the editor it "presents a view of some contemporary events from a new standpoint"; but they are not of very general historical interest. However, the record throws light on the treatment of prisoners in the Tower during the first half of the eighteenth century, and is enlivened by some amusing personal touches. On the release of Lord Orrery Williamson noted that: "this poor spirited Lord did not make the leste present to the officers"; though he refused to "take one farthing" from the Earl of Macclesfield, because "his fine was so heavy" and he "thought him an honest man and hardly delt by". There is a piquant account of the general's troubles with Atterbury, which leads us to understand why he "gave him three huzzaas at parting . . . and was rejoic'd to get rid of him". The appendix, rather longer than the *Diary* itself, is made up of full and careful notes relating chiefly to prisoners of state—most of them Jacobites—whom Williamson had under his charge. A few of these notes, however, elucidate points of curious antiquarian interest, such as the Tower Court and Liberty; Marshalsea prison; the prisage of wine and provisions claimed by the Tower officials; and a fancied cure for hydrophobia. In the note on the Tower menagerie the editor might have mentioned the origin of the term "socal lion". Additional notes, at the foot of pages in the body

of the text, touch on items of quaint information, one describes the custom of beating the bounds of the Tower Liberty, which still takes place every three years, though it was then an annual function; another states the fact, not generally known, that the coroner of old time was obliged to hold an inquest free of charge in all cases except murder. Two possible errors might be cited: apparently Goertz, the minister of Charles XII. of Sweden, never seriously plotted to restore the Old Pretender to the English throne, his activity was only a pretense to secure funds from the Jacobites (p. 6, note 1); also, it is scarcely correct to say (p. 101, note 3) that the Riot Act was read to a mob; as a rule, the magistrates read only that part of it consisting of the proclamation to disperse. Pages 21-23 contain a valuable list of the officers of the Tower from 1688 to 1750.

A. L. C.

The Naval Mutinies of 1797. By Conrad Gill, M.A., Lecturer in Economic History, University of Belfast. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XIX.] (Manchester, the University Press, 1913, pp. xix, 412.) In the first five books of this volume Mr. Gill tells with many new details the familiar story of the mutinies of 1797. In this portion of his book the author describes the mutinies as a well-organized strike conducted in surprisingly good order by the seamen to obtain the redress of specific, well-founded grievances such as inadequate pay, poor and insufficient food, and incompetent officers. But, inasmuch as these evils were not of recent origin, Mr. Gill argues that some additional factor is necessary to account for the outbreak of the mutinies at that particular time. This factor he finds in the political theories prevalent among certain classes in England at that time, which theories he describes as (p. 309) "the principles of the French Revolution". These principles, he assumes, were propagated in England by political societies which failed to overthrow the existing constitution and set up a republic (pp. 314, 325, 344) "not by lack of inclination, but by lack of ability". In the last five chapters of his monograph Mr. Gill makes a labored attempt, much lacking in verisimilitude, to show a causal connection between the mutinies and these societies and principles.

There is space to mention only two or three of the many weaknesses in the author's argument on this final point. In the first place, assuming that some additional immediate occasion was necessary to arouse the seamen to mutiny, may it not be found in the increase of pay of the soldiers a short time before or in some similar circumstance more in keeping with the behavior and grievances of the mutineers? Moreover, it is by no means so certain as Mr. Gill seems to imagine that the societies he mentions either took their political doctrines from France or meditated a republic in England. Indeed he appears to be surprisingly unfamiliar with the aims and activities of these societies. Finally, the fragments of evidence which the author brings forward in his effort to connect

these political societies with the mutinies do not afford a clear and convincing proof of his conclusion.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

Private Papers of George, second Earl Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1794-1801. Edited by Julian S. Corbett, LL.M. Volume I. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. XLVI.] (London, The Navy Records Society, 1913, pp. xxiv, 417.) This volume is the first of a series to be published containing selections from the papers of George, second Earl Spencer, who was First Lord of the Admiralty from 1794 to the end of Pitt's first administration in 1801. This volume goes little further than the end of 1796 and does not, therefore, reach the months of the mutinies in 1797. These papers were put at the disposal of the Navy Records Society by the fifth Earl Spencer, who was the first president of that society and also First Lord of the Admiralty. Unfortunately, the purpose for which the Navy Records Society was established precludes the publication in this series of volumes of any of Lord Spencer's papers except those which are of peculiar interest to students of naval history in its various phases. The method used by the editor in selecting the papers to be published is, perhaps, best expressed in his own words:

The system adopted has been to discard all documents relating to promotions and patronage and all those which relate to home politics and the working of our somewhat cumbrous political machine, in which Lord Spencer, like the good politician he was, took an active interest. Next have been omitted letters to and from officers afloat which, however great their literary and picturesque interest, do not really concern the main flow of naval affairs (p. viii).

Not only has the author, in his selections, confined himself as far as possible to documents dealing solely with naval questions, he has also felt obliged, instead of presenting the papers in a merely chronological sequence, to group them in such a manner "by subjects" that they may be "of real and general service in illuminating the principles of naval and maritime warfare" (p. x). He has, therefore, arranged the papers that appear in this volume in seven groups. The first and fourth parts contain typical selections from Spencer's general correspondence relating to naval subjects in the years 1794-1797. The remaining parts deal respectively with the Quiberon Expedition; the West India Expedition (August, 1795, to April, 1796); Operations in the West Indies, 1796; Projected Attack on the Texel; and Abandonment of the Mediterranean and the War with Spain to the Battle of St. Vincent. Each of these groups of papers is preceded by a brief introductory note in which the editor undertakes to explain the moral to be pointed or the tale to be illustrated. Sometimes the morals are of questionable merit and seem to be needlessly multiplied. See, for example, the introduction to the papers on the Quiberon expedition (pp. 69-70).

Naturally the editor did not succeed in finding documents dealing with naval affairs which did not throw light on other questions as well.

The papers relating to the West India expedition, for example, afford an interesting view of the internal working of the British cabinet of that time. But Mr. Corbett has come as near succeeding in his undertaking in this respect as was feasible, much nearer indeed to complete success than one interested in other phases of history could have wished. And, in conclusion, one cannot help expressing a hope that those papers of Lord Spencer which have a more general interest may yet find their way into some institution or publication where they may be available for the use of students of history.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress: eine Auswahl aus ihren Papieren. Von August Fournier. (Vienna, F. Tempsky; Leipzig, G. Freytag, 1913, pp. xv, 510.) Historical knowledge of the work of the Congress of Vienna, like the congress itself, has travelled in circles, but for many years has not marched. Now Fournier, the Austrian historian, is undertaking its history. In the course of his work he has used the secret reports of the police concerning the members of the congress and the copies and originals of intercepted communications now stored in the Austrian archives. Some of this material he has printed with an interesting introduction.

The introduction describes a system of espionage in which every detail was reduced to a science—spying, breaking seals, and invading houses being each a specialty. The whole system was expanded out of simple beginnings to meet the dangers supposedly bred by the French Revolution. The appointment of a Minister of Police came first in 1793. The system once established grew by what it fed on and continued into the nineteenth century, maintaining and justifying itself by discovering a new national peril every few years.

Naturally when the Congress of Vienna began gathering and all kinds of men and women flocked into the city, the secret police was ready to receive them. Its minions sought service in the kitchens and frequented the salons of diplomats. Their landlords, also in the pay of the police, carried off their waste-paper baskets, Dalberg's being especially rich in returns, and raked the ashes in their stoves for unburned correspondence. Stein seems to have been a poor stoker or else his *Kachelofen* had a poor draft, to judge by the rescued booty. Even Metternich himself was under supervision and evidently had his full share of personal and political enemies.

All this trash supplemented by second and third hand gossip, if gossip may be figured with worn and discarded articles, was elaborately worked over by the police and summarized and these summaries together with much of the original material make up the bulk of the book. Fournier does not himself attribute much historical worth to it. Though it tells us little that is true and less that is new, it does somehow bring us nearer to the actors, if not to their actions, and helps in picturing again the social milieu in which were laid the political foundations of the Europe of the

age of restoration and reaction. With the use of the excellent index of names, it may be of some slight service from this standpoint.

The introduction with its description of the workings of the police system and sketches of the leading figures in the congress is excellent.

GUY STANTON FORD.

Geschichte Europas von 1815 bis 1830. Von Alfred Stern. Zweite Auflage. In two volumes. (Stuttgart and Berlin, J. G. Cotta, 1913, pp. xvii, 653; xvi, 571.) In 1894, twenty years ago, the first volume of a projected history of Europe, designed to carry the subject from 1815 to 1871, was issued by Professor Alfred Stern of Zürich. In 1879, the second volume appeared, in 1901, the third, in 1905, the fourth, and in 1911, the fifth and sixth, completing the second part and bringing the narrative to the year 1848. At this point Professor Stern turned aside, for the moment, from a continuation of the work to prepare a new edition of the earlier volumes. That such revision was desirable is manifest to anyone familiar with the opening of new archives, the rendering of new documents in old archives accessible to the public, and the publication of narratives, biographies, memoirs, letters, and episodic articles in English, German, French, and Italian reviews during the last twenty years.

Yet as far as the revised edition of the first two volumes is concerned, the reader who anticipates changes in the text will be disappointed. As a whole the differences between the old and the new editions are trifling. The pagination remains unchanged, except that portions of the text have been pushed forward or backward to admit of slight additions to the narrative or to the foot-notes. Of actual rewriting there is little evidence, although the work throughout has been set from new type. A few lines are added in the first volume on pages 44, 511, and 610, and a slight omission appears on page 318; the second volume reproduces the old text verbatim. Some of the foot-notes in both volumes have been lengthened or shortened and a very few new foot-notes have been added; but the new matter consists chiefly of references to books and articles that have appeared since the first editions were issued, some fifty in all. No emendations have been made in the foot-notes, except here and there, in the dropping of a word or the alteration of a punctuation mark.

That after so many years so few changes should be called for is a witness to the matter-of-fact character of the history and the cautiousness with which Professor Stern works. The new edition is valuable in bringing the bibliography up to date and in disclosing the many articles that the author himself has contributed during these years to various occasional and serial publications. From his statement in the new preface, we may infer that greater changes will appear in the revised editions of later volumes, which deal with such subjects as the Risorgimento and with periods for which Foreign Office material has not been hitherto easy to obtain. Professor Stern speaks of having had access to new

sources in London, the Hague, Copenhagen, Frankfort, Zürich, and elsewhere, and of having received from the widow of the historian Hillebrand transcripts made for her husband in Turin. Doubtless the later revised volumes will show the results of such extended investigation.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Memoir of the Honble. Sir Charles Paget, G.C.H., 1778-1839: with a Short History of the Paget Family. By the Very Reverend Edward Clarence Paget, D.D., Dean of Calgary, Canada. (London, New York, Bombay, and Calcutta, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1913, pp. vii, 131.) The compiler of this memoir of Sir Charles Paget would have been well advised not to submit it to public circulation. The work unfortunately is without historical value; and the forbidding style of its composition deprives it of any other attraction.

The author is a grandson of Sir Charles Paget, and apparently he undertook this sketch from motives that usually inspire a family biography. In Dean Paget's case, the shortcomings of this species of narrative appear in an aggravated form, for the very scanty, fragmentary material that was available has been pieced out in a way that reflects little credit upon the writer's ability to construct an historical setting—a curious, unsophisticated use of the language of naval melodrama. Dean Paget has consulted the log-books of the ships on which his grandfather served during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars; and from some of them he prints extracts. A long poem by Sir Edwin Arnold on Schetky's picture, "The Gallant Rescue", depicting an exploit in which Sir Charles Paget distinguished himself, is reprinted towards the end of the book. Sir Charles's appointment as admiral in command of the North American station, in 1837, and his short term of service there—he died in 1839—bring out a few letters; but they are only from private copies of despatches sent to the Admiralty, and they contain nothing that is not personal to the admiral himself.

On the whole, the memoir can scarcely interest any but the members of the Paget family.

C. E. FRYER.

The French Revolution of 1848 in its Economic Aspect. Volume I. Louis Blanc's *Organisation du Travail*. Volume II. Émile Thomas's *Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux*. With an Introduction, Critical and Historical, by J. A. R. Marriott. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913, pp. xcvi, 284; 395.) The Clarendon Press has rendered a distinct service in reprinting, in the original French, these two important books—practically historical sources. It is interesting to observe the history of 1848 swinging well within the circle of university studies. We are informed that this edition has been prepared primarily for the students in the Honor School of Modern History in Oxford. The editor's hope that it will be welcomed by a much wider circle will, without doubt, be fulfilled. Certainly students of modern history and economics will be grateful for so excellent an edition.

It is curious to observe how much "actuality" the *Organisation du Travail*, originally published in 1839, has now after seventy-five years. Important in the history of France popular thought and action, it has many points of attachment with modern discussions and projects. Louis Blanc's solution of the labor question was the establishment by state aid of national workshops where the laborers should themselves direct their labor and share the profits. His book is interesting by reason of its relation to such different things as socialism, co-operation, and syndicalism. Indeed, as Professor Marriott points out in his introduction, Louis Blanc "has in fact more claim to be regarded as the father of modern syndicalism than of socialism", a syndicalism, however, purged of revolutionary attributes and confiscatory principles.

Louis Blanc's state-aided, co-operative, national workshops and the *ateliers nationaux* established by the provisional government in 1848 were two things which had absolutely nothing in common. Yet the latter were widely represented by the enemies of Louis Blanc as really his creation and their failure as showing the folly and ineptitude of his theories. Despite the fact that Blanc had no difficulty in showing that the *ateliers* were a gross travesty of his ideas and that they were the sinister work of his enemies, still the legend grew and became almost universal that he and his fellow-socialists were responsible for this disastrous experiment. Rarely has a calumny been more successful.

Émile Thomas was the actual organizer and director of the famous workshops and his account, now republished, throws much light upon this topic. His book is therefore complementary to the *Organisation du Travail*. That the workshops were mere political machines designed to be used, and actually used, against the socialists is the thesis of Louis Blanc in his *Historical Revelations* and is the conclusion of Renard in his *Histoire de la République de 1848*.

However, this is a tenebrous chapter of history. It will become entirely clear only when all the financial and parliamentary interests and intrigues, which rendered so brusque and violent the crisis in which the workshops disappeared, are fully revealed.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1865. By John H. Russell, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Allegheny College. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, series XXXI, no. 3.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1913, pp. viii, 194.) Some people will be surprised to learn that the Africans who were sold to the Virginians in 1619 were only indentured servants entitled like their white fellow-unfortunates to freedom and other privileges in the new country; that negro slavery in Virginia was a growth dependent on local conditions and the important element of color; and that it required half a century of custom and law-making to fix the "institution" in the community, yet these are the well-authenticated conclusions of this study. Other interesting facts are the growth from small beginnings of the

free negro group, the changes of temper and purpose on the part of the master class which increased or decreased the number of freedmen, the moral character of the so-called outcast class and the many efforts in nineteenth-century history at successful colonization.

The lot of the free negro in Virginia was hard indeed, his right to live in the community was always in dispute and his relations to both white and colored neighbors were most uncertain; but, as this dissertation abundantly shows, even these untoward facts did not make him the parasite and utterly immoral individual he has been represented to be. He was frequently a respectable property-holder, a master of slaves or a trained artisan who played a useful rôle in the old slave system and who was never exempt from taxation; sometimes he paid double taxes and at other times he paid a tax for his wife, which was not exacted of any other citizen or subject.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

The Major Operations of the Navies in the War of American Independence. By A. T. Mahan, D.C.L., LL.D., Captain, U. S. Navy. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1913, pp. xxiii, 280.) There is undoubtedly a connection between the rise of modern navies and the historical writings of Admiral Mahan, the first of which, *The Gulf and Inland Waters*, was published in 1883. In a measure the one is both the cause and the effect of the other. Few historians have so greatly influenced men of affairs. The wide interest manifested in the admiral's books may be attributed to their timeliness, to their novel interpretation of naval history, and to the didactic quality that they possess. The admiral is convinced that the past may serve to guide the present and to illuminate the future, and he never tires of drawing from history, with much precision, the lesson that he thinks it teaches. His certainty makes a strong appeal to the practical man. The latest volume bearing the admiral's name on the title-page, the one now under review, has all the characteristics of his other writings. It is a reprint, with a slight revision of old materials and with an introduction which is new, of a chapter contributed to Sir William Clowes's *History of the Royal Navy*, published in 1898 and entitled "Major Operations of the Royal Navy, 1762-1783". With the exception of pages 6-28, treating of the naval campaign on Lake Champlain in 1775-1776, the admiral has little to say of the achievements of the American navy during the Revolution, since from his point of view these are "minor operations". The volume will make more accessible to scholars a standard account of some of the most noteworthy operations of the Royal Navy. C. O. PAULLIN.

Saint Tammany and the Origin of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York. By Edwin P. Kilroe, LL.B., Ph.D. (New York, 1913, pp. 243.) This treatise forms the opening chapters of a comprehensive history of the New York Tammany Society. The political significance of the institution popularly known as "Tammany Hall" has been so great that the author's purpose in this

monograph is important—that is, to reveal the scope of the movement of early Tammany societies, with particular reference to that of New York, “as the basis for the proper understanding of the growth and influence of the institution and the evolution of the Democratic ‘machine’ in New York County”.

There are four chapters, the first on Saint Tammany. This is a discussion of the origin of the name, traditions, and canonization. The second is on the Movement of the Tammany Societies in the United States prior to 1789. Here it is shown that their growth, in this early period, was more extensive than has been supposed; that they started as social organizations, but gradually assumed public and patriotic significance, becoming leaders of revolutionary sentiment. The third chapter is entitled the Origin of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York. The author shows that this society was certainly in existence in 1787 and perhaps in 1786. The last chapter is on the Early Activities of the Society. It treats of such topics as Reception to the Indians, Promoting Holidays, Patriotic Zeal and Civic Interests, and the Drift towards Politics. The sympathy of the society was with France, and hence with the principles of the Democratic societies established in the United States in 1793–1794. Thus the Tammany societies were drawn towards the party of Jefferson, and stood for popular rights and the principles of democracy.

The monograph shows a great amount of research, particularly in the newspapers of the period. The notes are very full and convey interesting information respecting contemporary opinion of the society. Perhaps the most valuable contribution is the account of the spread of the movement to other states. No less than twenty-three societies are known to have been formed before 1812, extending from South Carolina to Massachusetts and west to Ohio. A history of this movement and its relation to national politics is much needed. An appendix gives a list of orations delivered before Tammany societies. The book is an excellent piece of work and the chapters describing the later history of the society will be awaited with great interest.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

Thomas Jefferson as an Architect and a Designer of Landscape. By William Alexander Lambeth, M.D., and Warren H. Manning. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913, pp. xi, 122, 23 plates.) The precise extent of Thomas Jefferson's achievements in architecture has long been a subject of controversy. That he was in some sense the designer of Monticello and of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, is common knowledge; but it has been contended that for the technical details of these buildings and for assistance in the conduct of their construction he was largely indebted to William Thornton and others. Professor W. A. Lambeth of the University of Virginia, after a careful study of original documents in the university archives and of Jefferson's correspondence, has published, in the volume under review, a well-reasoned plea for the recognition of Jefferson's title not only as

the real and sole architect of the university and of Monticello, but also as the virtual designer of two other important mansions, Bremond and Farmington, though these designs were much altered in the execution. He presents an interesting and convincing picture of Jefferson's methods of work, of the difficulties he encountered, and of his versatility and resourcefulness both as a designer and as a superintendent of construction, and satisfactorily disproves the allegation that Thornton had any appreciable share in the design of the university. Jefferson's careful study of the practical as well as the artistic details of the work is well set forth, and photo-prints of his drawings, specifications, and notebook calculations are presented in support of the statements in the text.

Dr. Lambeth is least convincing in his discussions of architectural history and theory. In these he is a special pleader, extolling his hero at the expense of Inigo Jones, Palladio, and all the English Georgian architects. Some of his observations on Roman architecture are likely to provoke smiles among architects versed in that field of architectural history. He makes only a casual reference to Jefferson's connection with the design for the Virginia Capitol, and none at all to the popular but baseless legend of his authorship of the Indian-corn "order" in the Capitol at Washington. Dr. Lambeth's claim that when Jefferson designed the dome of the rotunda at Charlottesville (about 1822) there was no precedent in America for the construction of such a roof of wood, would seem to ignore the earlier domes, by Bulfinch, of the Boston State House, and the Maryland Capitol at Annapolis. Despite these minor defects, Dr. Lambeth has in his plea rendered a real service to the history of American architecture and to the reputation of the great Democrat.

The second part of the volume, by Mr. Warren H. Manning, a noted Boston landscape designer, is a sober but sympathetic description and appreciation of Jefferson's treatment of the grounds of the university and of Monticello, and re-enforces Dr. Lambeth's claims on behalf of Jefferson's unusual gifts, artistic and practical, in widely varied fields of design.

The plates which accompany these texts are excellent, but one could wish they had been distributed with more regard for logical sequence and relation to the text. The details of the plan of Monticello do not agree in all respects with the photographic views of the interior.

A. D. F. HAMLIN.

One Hundred Years of Peace. By Henry Cabot Lodge. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913, pp. vii, 136.) This volume is a popular sketch of the relations between the United States and England during the century that has elapsed since the close of the War of 1812. While the essay is thoroughly readable and the style good, it touches upon such a large number of intricate topics so lightly as to leave the impression of having been written in an offhand way.

A special feature of the volume is the array of quotations from English writers during the half-century following the War of 1812 showing the contempt in which they held America and Americans. Many of the same quotations and many more of a similar character are to be found in one of the chapters of McMaster's fifth volume. In both cases the writers have accumulated instances of British malice until they have exaggerated the average state of feeling. At any rate, these expressions were not primarily the cause of the bad feeling that existed, as Lodge intimates, but rather the evidences of it.

The author shows a dangerous tendency to dogmatize, sometimes in utter disregard of the facts of history. For instance, in commenting on the *Trent* affair he says of President Lincoln: "Knowing from the moment when the news came what ought to be done and what must be done, Lincoln, with his large and patient wisdom, bided his time. The public excitement subsided, and then the President surrendered Mason and Slidell." As authority for this statement he quotes B. J. Lossing's report of an interview with President Lincoln, and in a footnote he quotes a passage from Welles which, he maintains, substantiates Lossing. As a matter of fact the two agree only in saying that Lincoln referred to Mason and Slidell as elephants on his hands. On the point of Lincoln's grasp of the principles involved the passages from Lossing and Welles are directly contradictory. Furthermore we have the testimony of many who were in daily and official contact with Lincoln to the effect that he was extremely reluctant to surrender Mason and Slidell and that he yielded only when he saw that a refusal of the British demands would mean war with both England and France, the raising of the blockade, and the independence of the Confederacy.

JOHN H. LATANÉ.

Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife: an Autobiography. By Mrs. John A. Logan. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913, pp. xvi, 470.) Mrs. Logan's reminiscences add their particular contribution to the literature of personal impressions, with the varying value of that type of historical narrative. Her experiences were connected for many years with events of national importance, for in addition to his military career in the Civil War and connection even during that service with politics, General Logan was almost constantly within the inner circle of Republican leaders during the period of that party's supremacy from Lincoln to Cleveland; and his capable wife seems to have borne an unusually active part in assisting him. Moreover her powers of keen observation and of picturesque narration, and her generous praise of her contemporaries make the account an entertaining one.

It is the personal comments that constitute the value of the book. Mrs. Logan from personal knowledge warmly defends Stephen A. Douglas; she enters at some length into a discussion of General Sherman's unfairness to her husband; Lincoln is described, first as seen with the eyes of an opponent, and later with all the eulogy of an ardent adherent; the intimacy of the Logans with the Grants gives oppor-

tunity for an intimate account, always with unstinted admiration, of the personality of the soldier president. She characterizes Blaine as one who "was never the author or the leader in the advocacy of any measure for the public welfare", but who derived his popularity from his suavity of manner, brilliancy of intellect, marvellous memory, and shrewdness as a self-seeker. Her observations upon Garfield's play for the Republican nomination in 1880 even while making a perfunctory nominating speech for John Sherman, are interesting, as is her estimate of the extent to which a proposal in the early seventies to move the United States capital to St. Louis was responsible for renewed activity in improving and beautifying Washington.

With all the apparent frankness of her narrative, it is plain that some of the glamour of years is allowed to affect portions of her reminiscences. As is natural, too, General Logan is exalted throughout the book, but the various worthy deeds of this dashing citizen-soldier are good reading and such themes bear over-emphasis. Extravagant statements abound, as when, for example, the author asserts, in praise of the Grand Army of the Republic, of which General Logan was the first commander-in-chief, that "it is probably not too much to say that had there been a Grand Army of the Republic at the close of the War of the Revolution there never would have been any War of the Rebellion".

Seventy-five per cent. of the excellent index is made up of names of individuals, which reflects the personal nature of the book.

EMERSON D. FITE.

James Harlan. By Johnson Brigham. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, Iowa, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1913, pp. xvi, 398.) James Harlan was an interesting man in that he represented so well the resolute partizan and tough-fibred frontier leader of the mid-nineteenth century. He was not unlike "Zach" Chandler or Benjamin F. Wade, who so relentlessly pursued and persecuted Andrew Johnson. As a member of the group of western politicians who so ardently championed the humanitarian uprising of 1860, Harlan deserved a biography, and for some reasons it is well that the writing of such a work fell to the lot of Mr. Johnson Brigham, who nowhere finds it to be his duty to speak a word of condemnation. To him Senator Harlan was a hero and good biographers, we are told, should be hero-worshippers.

Senator Harlan won his spurs in Iowa politics as an educator and a rough and ready debater and he was a most welcome leader of the Whig party in those days of insolent Democratic supremacy. He was unexpectedly elevated to the United States Senate, where he remained from 1855 to 1873, with the exception of one year when he was Secretary of the Interior under Lincoln and Johnson. He had the misfortune to remove Walt Whitman from office and thus he gained undesired notoriety for "persecuting" a literary man; but he gave much better ground of attack by allowing himself to become involved in questionable land speculations and railroad "deals". He was sharply attacked by men like the

late H. V. Boynton for peculations or "graft", as we are prone to say in these latter days, and he was never able to clear his skirts, though his biographer makes out the best case possible for him.

But these slanders, if such they were, should not deprive Senator Harlan of his place in history. Many of his contemporaries, from President Grant down to the party editor in Washington, were deeper in the mire than he and their places in the national Valhalla are still secure. Harlan was an able man and one who did much to develop the industrial and railway interests of his beloved Northwest. The homestead law of 1862 owes much to him and the Union Pacific railway received its liberal charter largely through his influence and activity; and during all the dark months and years of the Civil War he was a sturdy support of the President and the party in power.

The sources on which this interesting book rests are the autobiographical manuscript and papers of Senator Harlan, now in the possession of Mrs. Robert T. Lincoln, the Kirkwood and Grimes papers, and other materials in the Iowa Department of History and Archives at Des Moines. All of these, including many contemporary newspapers and public documents, have been used with scholarly care and discretion; and the *Life of Harlan* makes a most worthy number in the series of excellent biographies edited by Professor B. F. Shambaugh of the Iowa State Historical Society.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

The Missions and Missionaries of California. By Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt. Volume III. *Upper California.* (San Francisco, The James H. Barry Company, 1913, pp. xviii, 663.) In his third volume, Father Engelhardt continues the general history of the California missions to the close of the Fernandino period.

Section I. includes the period 1812-1830, or the presidencies of Fathers Seán, Payéras, Duán, and Sánchez. It details the treachery of the Indians, difficulties with the soldiery and governors, first proposals to cede the missions to the regular clergy, and the troubles of the Spanish Fernandinos upon the advent of the Mexican republic. It is a sordid story, the unexpressed thesis of which is the inefficiency of Californian civilization consequent upon a too "far-flung battle line".

Section II. continues the narrative under the presidency of Father Narciso Durán (1830-1836) throughout secularization and the elimination of the Fernandinos from their ill-fated stewardship. The opening pages contain the fairest and best-written part of the volume, a summary of section I.

In structure, the work is marred by lack of chapter unity and by an incoherent choice of material entailed by intimate knowledge of the field, to the detriment of perspective. Where it is not annalistic, the style is controversial. Protest must be made against scores of misplaced or omitted accents.

Its fullness of detailed presentation and its frank utterance of the attitude of the Church, make the volume the most valuable contribution yet made to the most vexed period of California history. F. J. T.

NOTES AND NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The committee on nominations, appointed with a view to the elections of next December, will welcome suggestions from members, and suggest that it will aid their work if letters of that nature are sent early. The names and addresses of the five members of the committee appear above on page 491.

The *Annual Report* for 1912 has been read in galley-proof and will soon be in page-proof. It consists of but one volume, comprising, along with material of the usual character, reports on the archives of Louisiana and Montana and the letters of William Vans Murray to John Quincy Adams, 1797-1803, edited by Mr. Worthington C. Ford.

It is expected that Mr. A. C. Cole's prize essay on *The Whig Party in the South* will be ready for distribution to subscribers within a few weeks after the issue of this journal. The reprint of Professor Muzzey's *The Spiritual Franciscans* is in the press; Miss Violet Barbour's *Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington* soon will be.

In the *Original Narratives* series, *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases, 1648-1706*, edited by Professor George L. Burr, will be published this spring; Professor C. M. Andrews's *Narratives of the Insurrections, 1676-1690*, in the autumn.

It has long been felt that American historical students in London would fare much better in many respects if they had a common meeting place, convenient to the Public Record Office and the British Museum, and a constituted advisor in respect to archives, formalities, and educational courses. Through the kind offices of Mr. A. Percival Newton, lately appointed lecturer in American and colonial history in the University of London, and of Dr. Frances G. Davenport, in making the needful arrangements, this wish will now be realized. The Executive Council of the American Historical Association has established a London branch of the Association, to consist of those members of the Association who at any given time are in London and have registered (and paid a moderate fee) at the headquarters, which will be a suitably furnished room in South Square, Gray's Inn, near the quarters of the Royal Historical Society. Lord Bryce has kindly consented to be honorary chairman of the simple organization which is proposed, Mr. Hubert Hall honorary vice-chairman, Mr. Newton honorary secretary, while Miss Davenport will for the present serve as treasurer. An executive committee consisting of these four officers and the three senior

members registered at any given time will act in local or temporary matters, under the authority of the Council. Money is now being collected for the furnishing and the headquarters will be formally opened in June by the American Ambassador, Dr. Page. Correspondence may be addressed to Mr. Newton, Denbies, Reedham, Purley, England, or to J. F. Jameson.

Arrangements are well under way for the establishment of a branch of the American Historical Association in Paris. Thanks to the hospitality of the Office International (of which M. Jules Coulet is director), recently created by the Ministry of Public Instruction for the development of intellectual relations with foreign countries, and thanks also to the generosity of the Harvard Foundation, the branch will be furnished with suitable accommodations and will be enabled to be of much practical assistance to Americans who go to France for historical work. It is hoped that all students and teachers who plan to carry on any historical investigations in Paris during the coming summer, or who propose to study history at the Sorbonne or any other of the schools in Paris during the present year, will communicate with W. G. Leland, 64 rue Madame, Paris, who for the present will act as director of the branch.

The Committee on the Military History Prize (see above, pp. 487, 493) has prepared, for issue to contestants and others, a circular respecting the terms of award. Copies can be obtained by application to Captain A. L. Conger, Army Service Schools, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Essays must be submitted before September 1, 1915. The monograph chosen must be based upon independent and original investigation into some portion of the military history of the United States, preferably the Civil War—a campaign, a battle, a phase or aspect of a campaign or battle, the fortunes of a corps or division during a battle—or into such subjects as the mobilization or organization of volunteer forces, the material, transportation, or food supply of an army, or strategy and military policy. In other respects the requirements resemble those for the Association's other prizes. The Association assumes no responsibility for publication of the successful essay, but the committee sees prospects of securing that result.

At the request of the Departments of War and of the Navy the president of the American Historical Association appointed in January an Advisory Committee on the work which the two departments are doing under the act of March 2, 1913, as to collecting the scattered military and naval records of the Revolutionary War with a view to ultimate publication. The work is proceeding under the charge of Captain Hollis C. Clark, U. S. A. retired, and of Mr. Charles W. Stewart, superintendent of the Navy Department library. The Advisory Committee consists of Major John Bigelow, U. S. A. retired, Rear-Admiral F. E. Chadwick, U. S. N. retired, Dr. Justin H. Smith, Dr. Frederic Bancroft, and Dr. J. F. Jameson. It held meetings in January and February in which it drafted plans for the work and in-

structions for searchers. Searchers have been appointed in each state, and systematic efforts will be made to give the search the utmost possible completeness. All persons who can give information respecting materials for the military and naval history of the Revolutionary War, additional to those which are to be found in the archives of the states or in the libraries of the chief historical societies, are requested to write to Captain Clark or Mr. Stewart.

The principal article in the December number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* is by Professor Henry C. Vedder on the New Church History. Social Studies in Secondary Schools, the preliminary recommendation of the committee of the National Education Association, is reprinted from *Bulletin* no. 41 of the United States Bureau of Education. In the January number the articles of chief importance are the Press in its Relations to History, by Waldo L. Cook, of the Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, and Commercial and Industrial History in Secondary Schools, by Professor Clive Day. The February number contains as its opening article the paper, Typical Steps of American Expansion, read by Dr. J. F. Jameson at the International Congress of Historical Studies, in London, April, 1913; it has also an account of the Charleston meeting of the American Historical Association. The March number includes the paper read by Dr. Charles O. Paullin at that meeting on the Proposed Historical Atlas of the United States, projected by the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution; and an article by Moses W. Ware entitled "A Hidden Cause of the Mexican War".

PERSONAL

Colonel Ernest Picard, chief of the historical section of the General Staff of the French army, died on October 15, 1913, at the age of fifty years. In addition to his brilliant thesis on *Bonaparte et Moreau*, which won him the doctorate from the Sorbonne in 1905, he has published several studies in the military history of the Napoleonic period, and at his death was engaged with M. Tuetey in publishing the *Correspondance inédite de Napoléon Ier conservée aux Archives de la Guerre*, of which four volumes had appeared. He was one of the contributors to *La Guerre de 1870-1871*, published by the historical section of the General Staff, and also wrote volumes, intended for the general public, on the history of several of the campaigns of that war.

Canon Augustus Jessopp died on February 12 at the age of ninety. He was the author of several learned and readable books such as *One Generation of a Norfolk House* (1879), *The Coming of the Friars* (1885), and *Before the Great Pillage* (1901), and was a man of genial and sympathetic traits.

Nathan Goold, for many years the active and energetic librarian of the Maine Historical Society, died in Portland on February 27, at the age of sixty-nine.

Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, formerly state historian of New York, and more recently associated with Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes in the production of a set of volumes on *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, has been appointed "Keeper of Manuscripts" in the New York Public Library, a post recently created by the trustees with a view to carrying out, in regard to manuscripts, a definite constructive programme in the interest of history. Mr. Paltsits will take up the new post on September 1.

Dr. Bertha Putnam has been advanced to the position of associate professor of history in Mount Holyoke College.

Professor F. A. Updyke of Dartmouth College gives the annual series of Albert Shaw Lectures in Diplomatic History at the Johns Hopkins University this spring. His subject is the diplomatic history of the War of 1812. The lectures will later be published as a book.

Dr. Frederic A. Ogg, associate professor of history in Simmons College, has accepted a position as associate professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin.

It is a gratifying sign of increasing interest in American history in London that Mr. A. Percival Newton is appointed lecturer in colonial and imperial history at King's College and is also lecturing in American history at University College.

GENERAL

General reviews: C. Matschoss, *Geschichte der Technik* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, XI. 4); G. Bourgin, *L'Évolution des Villes* (Scientia, XXXIII. 1); M. Prinet, *Chroniques des Sciences Auxiliaires de l'Histoire: Numismatique, Sigillographie, Héralaique* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

It should seem that many persons interested in American history, readers of this journal, would wish to become members of the Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists, which is to be held in Washington, October 5-10, 1914, and especially such as are interested in the early history and anthropology of the native races. All such persons are requested to send their names to the secretary of the Congress, Professor Aleš Hrdlička, at the United States National Museum in Washington.

The eighth volume of Mommsen's *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1914) contains articles on epigraphy and numismatics. Most of the occasional publications of O. Hirschfeld, seventy-four in all, which have not been incorporated in his larger works are collected in a

volume of *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1913, pp. ix, 1011). The two volumes of *Aufsätze, Vorträge, und Reden* (Jena, Fischer, 1913, pp. xii, 967) by Dietrich Schäfer contain articles mainly on German history. Some studies by A. Bettelheim are collected in a volume entitled *Biographienwege, Reden und Aufsätze* (Berlin, Paetel, 1913). The *Gesammelte Schriften* of W. Dilthey are to be published in six volumes. The first volume to appear, the second of the series, contains his *Weltanschauung und Analyse des Menschen seit Renaissance und Reformation* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1914, pp. xii, 528).

A *Revue du Seizième Siècle* has been started as the organ of the Société des Études Rabelaisiennes. It is published by Champion of Paris at ten francs a year. The monthly *Revue France-Italie* (Paris, 20 rue Chaligny, foreign subscription 22 francs) is devoted to the history, literature, and art of the two countries during the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and modern times, and aims to promote a better mutual understanding. Another new monthly, the *Revue Sud-Américaine*, made its first appearance in January under the editorship of L. Lugones (Paris, Sahores and Ojeda). The opening article by G. Clémenceau is a bit of philosophy of history under the title "La Démocratie en Amérique". Dr. Antonio Curti has undertaken the editorship of *Napoleone* (Milan, Alfieri and Lacroix), which is to be devoted to the history of the Napoleonic period.

The Oxford University Press has printed in a separate volume two essays of Mr. (now Viscount) Bryce, *The Ancient Roman Empire and the British Empire in India*; and *The Diffusion of Roman and English Law throughout the World* (1914, pp. 138). They were printed some years ago in his *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, but are now made available in separate form.

Clio, a Muse, and other Essays Literary and Pedestrian, by George Macaulay Trevelyan, is mainly literary in character, but it contains several essays of distinct historical interest. The longest of these chapters pleads for a closer relation than at present exists between literature and history.

The Bobbs-Merrill Company has in preparation a series of books dealing with the contemporary history and political, social, and economic problems throughout the world, one volume to be devoted to each great power and one to international relations. The authors include Dr. E. F. Henderson, Germany; Mr. G. H. Perris, Russia; Professor Stephen P. Duggan, the Balkan States and Turkey; Miss Agnes C. Laut, Canada; Professor Amos S. Hershey, Japan; and Mr. Lawrence Jerrold, France. The series is being edited by Dr. Paul L. Haworth, who is also contributing the volume dealing with the United States. The first volumes will probably appear in November.

Abbé C. Allibert has prepared a *Manuel d'Histoire Locale* (Avignon, Aubanel, 1913, pp. xviii, 395) for guidance in the preparation of monographs in local history. The volume is specially adapted to Provence by its illustrative materials.

Dr. Hans Eibl has published the first volume of *Metaphysik und Geschichte: eine Untersuchung zur Entwicklung der Geschichtsphilosophie* (Vienna, Heller, 1913), and Dr. Kemmerich, the first volume of *Das Kausalgesetz der Weltgeschichte* (Munich, Langen, 1913). In an essay *Wie ist Geschichte als Wissenschaft möglich?* (Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Basch, 1913, pp. 98), O. Ehrlich makes a critical study of the views of Comte, Marx, Bernheim, Eduard Meyer, Gumplowicz, Lamprecht, and others.

Volume IV. of the *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, edited by Professor Paul Vinogradoff, is soon to appear from the Oxford University Press. This volume is to include "The Early History of Contract", by W. Barbour, and "The Abbey of Saint-Bertin and its Neighborhood, 900-1350", by G. W. Coopland.

Professor George E. Howard, of the University of Nebraska, has followed his bibliography of political questions by a valuable one of *The Family and Marriage*, which is, like the earlier work, "an analytical reference syllabus". Preceding the general bibliography is an outline of the development of the family from the earliest period to the present, with numerous references, and of the past and present conditions of divorce; and some twenty pages are devoted to the present social and political conditions of women and children.

The sixth volume of the authorized German edition of Maxime Kovalevsky's *Die Oekonomische Entwicklung Europas bis zum Beginn der Kapitalistischen Wirtschaftsform* (Berlin, Prager, 1913, pp. xi, 501) has appeared. It contains chapters on the disappearance of serfdom, the transformation from the manorial system in England and Italy, and the emancipation of the serfs and the breaking up of landed estates in Germany and Russia.

The second volume of *Schriften der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1913, pp. 196) contains the papers read at their meeting in Berlin in 1912. Several of the papers are important contributions to the discussion of the ideas of nationality, fatherland, and patriotism.

Balder the Beautiful, the Fire Festivals of Europe and the Doctrine of the External Soul (in two vols.), which is part VII. of the third edition of *The Golden Bough*, has recently appeared, and with this Dr. Frazer completes his third edition of this monumental work.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for December contains an interesting letter which Commodore Barron wrote to Commodore Dale soon after the Barron-Decatur duel, and the beginning of a list of works in the library relating to numismatics. The latter is also continued in the January *Bulletin*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Davillé, *La Comparaison et la Méthode Comparative en Particulier dans les Études Historiques*, I. (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, August); M. Ritter, *Studien über die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft*, IV., *Das 18. Jahrhundert* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXII. 1).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: G. Maspero [reviews of recent publications relating to Egypt] (*Revue Critique*, November 15, 22); G. Westphal, *Das Alte Testament* (*Theologischer Jahresbericht*, XXXII. 3); W. Nowack, *Altes Testament, Religionsgeschichte Israels* (*Theologische Rundschau*, January); U. Wilcken, *Papyrus-Urkunden* (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, VI. 1).

A new journal, *Ancient Egypt*, edited by Professor Flinders Petrie, is hereafter to be published by Macmillan and Company in London and New York. The issues will be quarterly and the price of subscription will be seven shillings per annum. Original articles, summaries of papers in foreign periodicals, accounts of excavations, notices of antiquities found, reviews of new books on Egypt, and notes and news relating to Egyptian research will be printed. The issues will be well illustrated. In the first number the chief article is the editor's Drew Lecture on Egyptian Beliefs in a Future Life.

Professor F. W. von Bissing has written for the series *Wissenschaft und Bildung* an excellent sketch of *Die Kultur des Alten Aegyptens* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1913, pp. viii, 87). A brief survey of the political history is followed by chapters on society, literature and science, art, and religion. There is an admirable selection of illustrations.

Dr. Robert Koldewey's *Das wieder erstehende Babylon* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1913, pp. vii, 328) is a richly illustrated account of the excavations at Babylon which he has conducted since 1899 under the patronage of the Royal Museum in Berlin and the German Oriental Society.

Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens, by Professor Morris Jastrow, jr. (Giessen, Töpelmann, three volumes), contains much material not included in his American work. The author has also rewritten considerable parts of the work as a result of various changes of opinion on his part. One of the most interesting features of the publication is a portfolio containing over two hundred illustrations.

Professor J. A. Montgomery has edited as volume III. of the publications of the Babylonian section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania the *Aramaic Incantation Texts of Nippur*, consisting of the inscriptions on forty-two bowls found at Nippur, to which Professor Montgomery has added numerous valuable notes.

Professor R. A. Stewart Macalister of University College, Dublin, has expanded the three Schweich Lectures which he delivered in 1911 before the British Academy and has published them as *The Philistines: their History and Civilization*. This volume brings together the information available on the Philistines, and deals with their origin, their history, their land, and their culture.

The late Otto Meltzer's *Geschichte der Karthager*, of which the first volume appeared in 1879 and the second in 1896, is now completed by the issue of the third volume, extending from 218 to 146 B. C., by Professor Ulrich Kahrstedt (Berlin, Weidmann).

The Oxford University Press has published Professor Haverfield's *Ancient Town-Planning*, which deals with Chinese town-planning as well as that of Greece and Rome, and also contains a chapter on Roman building laws.

E. Obst's *Der Feldzug Xerxes* is published as the twelfth supplementary volume to *Klio* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1913).

The University of Texas has published an important study in Greek history by Dr. George M. Calhoun, *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation* (Austin, 1913, pp. 172).

A body of extracts from the laws and municipal regulations of Alexandria, from a papyrus lately acquired by the University of Halle, is soon to be published under the title *Dikaionmata*.

W. Otto has done something to lift the veil from a curiously obscured and neglected period in his *Herodes: Beiträge zur Geschichte des letzten Jüdischen Königshauses* (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1913).

The first volume of E. Täubler's *Imperium Romanum: Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Römischen Reichs* deals with *Die Staatsverträge und Vertragsverhältnisse* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913, pp. x, 458). The author has undertaken a systematic study of the diplomatic history of the Roman republic and empire.

Professor Stéphane Gsell, of the College of France, has issued the first volume of an *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris, Hachette, 1913, pp. 560). The volume deals with the conditions of historical development, the primitive period, the Phoenician colonization, and the Carthaginian empire. Professor Gsell lived for many years in Algeria and has made the subject a life study.

Another important recent contribution to the history of *Konstantin der Grosse und seine Zeit* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1913) is a volume of studies by Dr. Dölger.

Though J. Geffcken's *Kaiser Julianus* is written in a popular style for the series *Das Erbe der Alten* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1913), its sound scholarship is attested in an extensive appendix of notes and references.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Reinach, *Égyptologie et Histoire des Religions* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, October); H. Winckler, *Vorderasien im Zweiten Jahrtausend auf Grund Archivaltischer Studien* (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, XVIII. 4); A. T. Olmstead, *Source Study and the Biblical Text* (American Journal of Semitic Languages, October); M. Croiset, *État Religieux de la Grèce vers le VIII^e Siècle* (Revue Bleue, January 17, 24); U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsrechtliches zum Putsch von 411* (Hermes, XLIX. 1); H. Francotte, *Études sur Démosthène* (Le Musée Belge, April 15, October 15); K. Svoboda, *Die Abfassungszeit des Geschichtswerkes des Polybios* (Philologus, LXXII. 4); Tenney Frank, *Representative Government in the Macedonian Republic* (Classical Philology, IX. 1); G. Plaumann, *Das sogenannte Senatus Consultum Ultimum, die Quasidiktatur der späteren Römischen Republik* (Klio, XIII. 3); P. F. Girard, *Les Leges Iuliae Iudiciorum Publicorum et Privatorum* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abt., XXXIV.); G. Toniolo, *Problemi ed Ammaestramenti dell'Età Costantiniana* (Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali, May, September, November); O. Seeck, *Die Reichspräefektur des Vierten Jahrhunderts* (Rheinisches Museum, LXIX. 1); M. L. Strack, *Die Freigelassenen in ihrer Bedeutung für die Gesellschaft der Alten* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXII. 1).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General reviews: J. Weiss, *Neues Testament* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XVII. 1); C. Guignebert, *Antiquités Chrétiennes* (Revue Historique, January); F. Cabrol, *Chronique d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

Professor A. Harnack has transferred to the Berlin Academy the sum of 21,600 marks, which was presented to him on his sixtieth birthday, to found a Harnack-Stiftung for the promotion of "die kirchen- und religionsgeschichtlichen Studien in Rahmen der Römischen Kaiserzeit (Saec. I-VI.)". The academy is given a practically free hand with regard to the use of the income from the fund, several alternative methods being suggested in the deed of gift.

There have recently appeared the volume of Professor F. Mourret's *Histoire Générale de l'Église* dealing with the origins of Christianity (Paris, Bloud, 1913, pp. 548), and the volume of Monsignor U. Benigni's *Storia Sociale della Chiesa* for the period from Constantine to the fall of the Roman Empire (Milan, Vallardi, 1914, pp. 432).

In the series *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, which, as we have already mentioned, is now published under the joint auspices of the Catholic University of America and the University of Louvain, the following volumes are in press: (Syriac) the epistles of the patriarch Timotheus I., ed. Braun; (Ethiopic) *Acta Martyrum*, II., ed. Pereira; (Arabic) *Synaxarium Alexandrinum*, ed. Forget, the first volume of the Latin translation; (Coptic) *Acta Martyrum*, II., ed. Balestri and Hyvernat.

A topical and theoretical, rather than an historical presentation of *Die Entwicklung des Christentums zur Universalreligion* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1913, pp. 333) is offered by Professor Karl Beth. A study in the history of the same subject for a single province is to be found in P. D. Scott-Moncrieff's *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* (Cambridge, University Press, 1913, pp. viii, 225).

A recent addition to the *Westminster Library* published by Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company is *The Early Church in the Light of the Monuments: a Study in Christian Archaeology*, by the Right Rev. Mgr. A. S. Barnes.

Recent biographies of the church fathers include P. Monceaux's *Saint Cyprien* (Paris, Gabalda, 1914, pp. 207); Abbé G. Bardy's *Saint Athanase* (*ibid.*); L. Bertrand's *Saint Augustin* (Paris, Fayard, 1913, pp. 464); and W. Stuhlfath's *Gregor I. der Grosse* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1913, pp. x, 112).

Professor Arnold Meyer of the University of Zürich has published an essay on *Das Weihnachtsfest: seine Entstehung und Entwicklung* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1913, pp. ix, 148). The volume is well illustrated and includes some account of the pagan festivals which gave place to the celebration of Christmas.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Salvatorelli, *Lo Stato e la Vita Sociale nella Coscienza Religiosa d'Israele e del Cristianesimo Antico*, I. (Studi Storici, XXI. 3); P. Allard, *Deux Récentes Controverses: Encore la Lettre sur les Martyrs Lyonnais de 177, et la Date du Labarum Constantinien* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); E. Schwartz, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Ephesinischen Konzils* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXII. 2).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: B. Schmeidler, *Neuere Ausgaben Mittelalterlicher Geschichtschreiber und verwandter Quellen* (Die Geisteswissenschaften, November 26).

Recent issues, numbers 110-115, of the *Historische Studien* (Berlin, Ebering) are W. Block, *Die Condottieri, Studien über die Sogenannten "Unblutigen Schlachten"*; A. Berr, *Die Kirche gegenüber Gewalttaten*

von Laien, Merowinger-, Karolinger-, und Ottonenzeit; H. Pahncke, *Geschichte der Bischöfe Italiens Deutscher Nation von 951 bis 1254*, I. Teil, 951-1004; A. Zellfelder, *England und das Basler Konzil*; B. Wunderlich, *Die Neuere Ansichten über die Deutsche Königswahl und den Ursprung des Kurfürstenkollegiums*; and J. Bachmann, *Die Päpstlichen Legaten in Deutschland und Skandinavien, 1125-1159*. Number 37 of the *Heidelberger Abhandlungen* is E. Müller's *Peter von Prezza, ein Publizist der Zeit des Interregnums* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1913, pp. ix, 150). Dr. Pahncke's thesis is partially paralleled by G. Schwartz's *Die Besetzung der Bistümer Reichsitaliens unter den Sächsischen und Salischen Kaisern, mit den Listen der Bischöfe von 951 bis 1122* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913, pp. viii, 338).

Though small in scope the monograph of Dr. Adolf Hofmeister, privatdozent in the University of Berlin, on *Deutschland und Burgund im Früheren Mittelalter: eine Studie über die Entstehung des Arelatischen Reiches und seine Politische Bedeutung* (Leipzig, Dyk, 1914, pp. 110) embodies the results of the most thorough and careful research in that difficult and obscure, but distinctly important subject.

A new edition of the important *Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095-1127*, of Foucher de Chartres, chaplain in the company of Baldwin on the first crusade, has been prepared by H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, Winter, 1913).

To *Bartolus of Sassoferrato: his Position in the History of Medieval Political Thought*, by C. N. S. Woolf, was awarded the Thirlwall prize in 1913. The volume is now published by the Cambridge University Press.

Some additions to the list of sources for the thirteenth century and the sources for the fourteenth century are included in the second volume of the *Bibliotheca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese*, compiled by G. Golubovich (Quaracchi, Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1913).

Two volumes of the letters of Pope John XXII., 1316-1334, have just been finished by Fontemoing of Paris in the collection of *Lettres des Papes d'Avignon*. The *Lettres Communes* are edited by G. Mollat, and the *Lettres Secrètes et Curiales* by A. Coulon.

Volumes IX. and X. of *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, by Rev. Horace K. Mann, have come from the press of Kegan Paul.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Miss M. T. Stead, *Manegold of Lautenbach* (English Historical Review, January); Willy Cohn, *Die Basler Konzilsflotte des Jahres 1437* [and medieval marine] (Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte, XII. 1).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: P. Funk, *Geschichte der Geistigen Kultur, Renaissance* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, XI. 3).

The Prussian Historical Institute in Rome has published, as the eleventh volume in its *Bibliothek*, the first or introductory volume of *Die Reichsverwaltung in Toscana von der Gründung des Langobardenstaates bis zum Ausgang der Staufer, 568–1268*, by Dr. Fedor Schneider (Rome, Loescher, 1914). Other volumes in preparation are *Von Nizza bis Crépy: Europäische Politik 1538–1544*, by Dr. L. Cardauns; *Ernst August von Hannover und die Katholische Kirche*, by Dr. Ph. Hiltbrandt; *Petri de Monte Epistolae*, ed. Johannes Haller; and *Forschungen zur kurialen Behördengeschichte bis zur Reformation*, by W. von Hofmann.

M. Lucien Romier, in sessions of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres on October 17 and 24, read a paper on "Rome et la Préméditation de la Saint-Barthélemy", in which he sought to prove that the papacy both foreknew and approved the massacre. This thesis was vigorously combatted in the ensuing discussion at the sessions. A brief abstract of the paper will be found in the *Bulletin* (or *Compte Rendu*) of the Academy.

Several volumes of first-rate importance have recently witnessed to the valuable researches conducted by the historical section of the General Staff of the French army. Captain A. Dussauge is the author of *Études sur la Guerre de Sept Ans, le Ministère de Belle-Isle, Krefeld et Lütterberg, 1758* (Paris, Fournier, 1914, pp. vii, 482); Captain Latreille, of *L'Oeuvre Militaire de la Révolution, l'Armée et la Nation à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime, les Derniers Ministres de la Guerre de la Monarchie* (Paris, Chapelot, 1913, pp. 476); Captain A. Grasset, of *La Guerre d'Espagne, 1807–1813, Tome I., Les Préliminaires, l'Invasion, Octobre 1807–Avril 1808* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1914); and Captain Vidal de la Blache, of *L'Évacuation de l'Espagne et l'Invasion dans le Midi, Juin 1813–Avril 1814* (2 vols., *ibid.*).

Dr. P. Bodereau's *Bonaparte à Ancône* (Paris, Alcan, 1914, pp. xiii, 254), and A. Boppe's *Albanie et Napoléon, 1797–1814* (Paris, Hachette) both relate to Napoleon's eastern policy, especially with regard to the Ionian islands and the Balkan peninsula.

Kontinentalnaia Blokada (Moscow, Zadruga, 1913), by E. V. Tarlé, professor of history in the University of Yuriev (Dorpat), is a volume of prime importance. The author has made extensive researches in the libraries and archives of Europe. The volume contains a large amount of new material, and several new documents are printed in full. After a general survey of the state of France prior to the blockade, there follows a similar account of the economic relations of France with each of the

different parts of Europe, and then a detailed study of each of the important manufacturing industries of France before the blockade. It will be seen that this volume of some 700 pages is but the introduction to an elaborate study of the economic and industrial history of the Continental Blockade. A bibliographical essay deals with the works relating both to the blockade and to French industry at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A monograph by W. Vogel on *Die Hansestädte und die Kontinentalsperre* is number IX. of the *Pfingstblätter des Hanseischen Geschichtsvereins* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1913, pp. 64).

The latest result of the industrious researches of the Grand Duke Nicolas Mikhaïlovitch is the publication of *Les Rapports Diplomatiques de Lebzeltern, Ministre d'Autriche à la Cour de Russie, 1816-1826* (St. Petersburg, 1913, Paris, Manzi, pp. lxxii, 477). The volume also includes Lebzeltern's reports to Metternich in 1812 and 1813, when he was employed as a secret agent to keep in touch with the Tsar, which are valuable as proving Austrian relations with Russia during Napoleon's Moscow campaign.

The Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt of Stuttgart brings out the first volume of T. von Sosnosky's *Die Balkanpolitik Oesterreich-Ungarns seit 1866*. A less pretentious contribution to the study of the Eastern Question is C. Desprès's *La Question des Principautés Danubiennes: Formation de la Roumanie* (Perpignan, Imp. de l'Indépendant, 1913, pp. iii, 131).

Under the title *Les Questions Actuelles et le Passé, 1913* (Paris, Alcan, 1914, pp. 308), André Fribourg has published a group of historical essays whose chief value and interest is due to events and questions of the past year in France and in international affairs, upon which they shed some light. The French problems of military service and income tax, the Balkan question, North Africa, and aviation are the most important topics.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Brinkmann, *Der Beginn der Neueren Handelsgeschichte und das Aufkommen der Seemächte* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXII. 2); H. Wätjen, *Das Judentum und die Anfänge der Modernen Kolonisation* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XI. 3, 4); Ph. Hildebrandt, *Die Päpstliche Politik in der Preussischen und in der Jülich-Klevischen Frage*, II. (Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, XVI. 2); J. H. Rose, *Frederick the Great and England, 1756-1763* (English Historical Review, January); E. Celani, *I Preliminari del Conclave di Venezia, 1798-1800* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXVI. 4); M. Lehmann, *Die Genesis des Preussisch-Russischen Bündnisses von 1813* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXII. 2); P. Rain, *Les Relations Franco-Russes sous le Second Empire* (Revue des Études Historiques, November).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The Royal Historical Society has in press an edition of the *Novgorod Chronicle* in which Professor Raymond Beazley, Mr. Nevill Forbes, and Mr. Mitchell have collaborated. Editions of Sir Joseph Williamson's Minutes of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, 1672-1674, and the Secret Service Funds under George III., are also being prepared, as well as the last volume of the Nicholas Papers, edited by Sir G. F. Warner, and an installment of Essex Papers, 1675-1677.

Messrs. MacLehose of Glasgow have recently issued a revised edition of Professor William S. McKechnie's *Magna Carta: a Commentary on the Great Charter of King John* which has been extensively revised and aims to embody the results of the work done in the last eight years.

By a generous gift from Mr. John E. Parsons the Yale University Press will be enabled to publish in six volumes a critical edition of Bracton on the common law, edited by Professor George E. Woodbine, who however expects that the preparations will occupy him several years.

In the *Law Quarterly Review* for January Dr. Charles L. Wells has a valuable article on "Early Opposition to the Petty Jury in Criminal Cases".

The first volume of the *Year Books of Richard II.*, announced by the Harvard University Press, has now appeared, dealing with the year 1388. The editor, Mr. George F. Deiser, presents the French text on one side of the page and the translation opposite, together with some explanatory notes.

Miss I. A. Taylor in her *Life of James IV.* (London, Hutchinson) has written a careful account of this monarch, though she has found little that is new to add.

J. S. Lindsey, the author of numerous "helps" for the teacher of history, has compiled a bibliography entitled *A Brief Tudor-Stuart Book-List* (Cambridge, Heffer and Sons, 1914), which covers the period from 1485 to 1714. Since the bibliography is intended for less advanced students of history, much space is allotted to secondary works.

Mr. C. D. Penn is the author of an historical study entitled *The Navy under the Early Stuarts and its Influence on English History*, published at Leighton Buzzard, England.

In addition to its local interest the *Survey of the Manor of Rochdale made in 1626*, edited by Mr. Henry Fishwick for the Chetham Society, furnishes material useful for an agrarian history of northwestern England.

A fourth volume of Miss Sainsbury's *Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1650-1654*, with the usual valuable introduc-

tion by Mr. William Foster, has recently appeared from the Clarendon Press.

In *Harrington and His Oceana*, by H. F. Russell-Smith, soon to be published by the Cambridge University Press, the political theories of Harrington are examined with special reference to the American Constitution.

A Life of John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, 1660-1672, by Percy H. Osmond, is an accurate account of a most interesting figure of Stuart times.

The Journal of the Friends Historical Society for January, 1914, contains an interesting letter from George Fox to William Penn, written in 1678. It also continues the publication of "Presentations in Episcopal Visitations, 1662-1679", edited by G. Lyon Turner.

Mr. William Hutcheon has recently issued through the press of John Murray a volume of the early political writings of Disraeli under the title *Whigs and Whiggism: Political Writings*.

Cecil Rhodes: the Man and his Work, by Gordon Le Sueur (John Murray) is an unpretentious work, which while it is in no sense a complete life of Rhodes, gives us many details concerning the personality of the man.

A History of Preston in Amounderness, by H. W. Clemesha, which is vol. XIV. of the *Publications of the University of Manchester*, Historical Series, is an attempt by a local study to throw light on such questions as the development of the manor from the borough, the government of the borough, and the functions of the gild merchant. Mr. Clemesha has made excellent use of such sources as the *Calendars of Patent Rolls*, *Close Rolls*, *Papal Letters*, and *State Papers*, the *Lancashire Pipe Rolls and Chartulary*, and the records of the court leet, as well as of a large number of secondary works. The work contains several illuminating maps of Preston.

The January and February issues of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contain parts I. and II. of a "List of Works in the New York Public Library relating to Scotland", compiled by Mr. George F. Black.

Miss Margaret Adam and Messrs. John Ewing and James Munro of the University of Edinburgh have prepared an extremely useful *Guide to the Principal Parliamentary Papers relating to Dominions, 1812-1911* (Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1913, pp. x, 190). The preface contains an authoritative account of the origin and history of parliamentary papers, by the librarian of the House of Commons. All students of imperial history will be grateful for these lists of parliamentary papers relating to Canada, Australia, South Africa, etc., and to immigration and colonization in general.

British documentary publications: *Calendar of the Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. IV., Edward III., 1327-1337, ed. A. E. Bland and S. C. Ratcliff; *Calendars of Inquisitions post Mortem*, vol. VII., 1-9 Edward III.; *Diocesis Karliolensis, Registrum Johannis de Halton*, pars quarta, ed. W. N. Thompson (Canterbury and York Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. G. Coulton, *The Interpretation of Visitation Documents* (English Historical Review, January); R. Stewart-Brown, *The Avoueries of Cheshire* (English Historical Review, January); F. Arens, *Wilhelm Servat von Cahors als Kaufmann zu London, 1273-1320* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XI. 4); K. Engel, *Die Organisation der Deutsch-Hansischen Kaufleute in England im 14. und 15. Jahrh. bis zum Utrechter Frieden von 1474* (Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1913, 2); G. Biscaro, *Il Banco Filippo Borromei e Compagni di Londra, 1436-1439* (Archivio Storico Lombardo, XL. 37); Sir W. R. Anson, *The Cabinet in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (English Historical Review, January); G. Neilson, *Scotstarvet's "Trew Relation of the Principall Affaires concerning the State"* (Scottish Historical Review, January); P. Hume Brown, *Intellectual Influences of Scotland on the Continent* (*ibid.*, January); Charlotte, Lady Blennerhassett, *Das Viktorianische England*, I., II. (Deutsche Rundschau, December, February); John O'Grady, *Feudalism in Ireland* (Catholic University Bulletin, December).

FRANCE

General reviews: C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Histoire de France: Fin du Moyen Âge, 1328-1498* (Revue Historique, January); R. Lévy, *Histoire Intérieure du Premier Empire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January).

In the fourth volume of his *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, Hachette, 1913) Professor Camille Jullian of the College of France treats the subject of Roman provincial government in the Province, making a notable contribution to the subject of Roman provincial administration. Professor Jullian expects to complete his great work in two more volumes. One phase of the period is considered in L. Bonnard's *La Navigation Intérieure de la Gaule à l'Époque Gallo-Romaine* (Paris, Picard, 1913, pp. 273).

M. Eugène Saulnier has published with excellent editing the *Journal de François, Bourgeois de Paris* (December 23, 1588-April 30, 1589), printed in 1746, in an appendix, by Langlet du Fresnoy, but since, in spite of its value, lost from view by historical writers (Paris, Leroux, pp. 105).

Professor E. Bourgeois and L. André have prepared the third volume of the *Manuels de Bibliographie Historique*, which includes *Les Sources*

de l'Histoire de France, XVII^e Siècle, 1610-1715 (Paris, Picard, 1913). A manual of *Les Sources de l'Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution aux Archives Nationales* has been prepared by a member of the staff of the Archives, Léon Le Grand (Paris, Champion, 1914, pp. 214).

W. Weigand and M. Picquet, respectively, are authors of interesting volumes on *Der Hof Ludwigs XIV.* (Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1913), and on *Paris sous Louis XIV.* (Paris, Mansi, 1913). Professor G. Martin and Dr. M. Bezançon have published the first volume of a *Histoire du Crédit en France sous le Règne de Louis XIV.* (Paris, Larose and Tenin, 1913, pp. x, 244).

In the series entitled *Études sur les Institutions Financières de la France Moderne* M. Edmond Esmonin has brought together a mass of material relating to the *taille* in Normandy. His volume, *La Taille en Normandie au Temps de Colbert, 1661-1683* (Paris, Hachette, pp. 30, 552), describes the operation of the tax, the collectors, and the methods of collection.

Alfred Marquiset has compiled a *Table Alphabétique des Noms Propres cités dans les Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France pendant le XVIII^e Siècle, publiés de 1857 à 1881 par Barrière et de Lescure* (Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. viii, 176), which is published as the ninth supplement to the *Revue des Bibliothèques*. The eleventh supplement to the same review contains a *Bibliographie des Historiques des Régiments Français* (*ibid.*, pp. xiv, 354), prepared by Captain Jean Hanoteau and E. Bonnot, which is, unfortunately, confessedly incomplete. Both volumes are useful additions to the working apparatus of the student of modern French history. If sufficient subscriptions are received forthwith, M. Champion will undertake to publish in three volumes of a thousand pages each a *Table Alphabétique des Matières de la France Littéraire de Quérard et de ses Suppléments, 1701-1840*.

G. Schelle has undertaken the publication of a five-volume edition of the *Oeuvres de Turgot et Documents le concernant avec Biographie et Notes* (Paris, Alcan). The work includes both a corrected text of the writings already published, and also much unpublished matter. The first volume deals with Turgot's younger days as student and magistrate; the second volume handles the early years of his intendency of the Limousin to 1767.

In November M. Édouard Driault laid before the French Archives Commission a project to follow the publication of the series, *Recueil des Instructions aux Ministres et Ambassadeurs*, which is nearly completed, by a new series containing the diplomatic documents for the period of the Revolution and the Empire. The commission has appointed a sub-committee to consider the proposition, which would involve the publication of some twenty volumes.

O. G. de Heidenstam's *Marie Antoinette, Fersen et Barnave, leur Correspondance* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1913, pp. 342, reviewed by E. Daudet, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1) is largely composed of papers obtained from the grand-niece of Fersen, which form an extremely interesting contribution to the story of the unfortunate queen.

Besides *La Famille d'Orléans pendant la Révolution d'après sa Correspondance inédite* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1913, pp. 296), by G. Du Boscq de Beaumont and M. Bernos, there have recently appeared to complete the subject G. Lenotre's *Les Fils de Philippe Égalité pendant la Terreur* (Paris, Perrin, 1913, pp. 312), and Baron André de Maricourt's *Louise Marie Adélaïde de Bourbon-Penthièvre, Duchesse d'Orléans* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1913, pp. xiv, 329).

L'Épopée Vendéenne, 1789-1796, by Professor G. Gautherot (Tours, Mame, 1913, pp. 564) is a popular, illustrated account, written from the royalist, Catholic point of view, by a competent scholar. The history of the Vendéan unrest is continued in E. Gabory's *Napoléon et la Vendée d'après des Documents inédits* (Paris, Perrin, 1913, pp. vii, 507).

Albert Espitalier has selected for study in *Vers Brumaire, Bonaparte à Paris* (Paris, Perrin, 1913) the period from the treaty of Campo Formio to the embarkation for Egypt, and brings to light some new materials with regard to a period of five months which is usually slurred over. Strangely enough place has been found in the collection of literary biographies, *Bibliothèque Française, XIX^e Siècle*, for a volume on *Napoléon*, which has been prepared by A. Guillon, who has done what was possible to make the emperor a literary personage. Professor Arthur Chuquet has added another volume to the *Inédits Napoléoniennes* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1913, pp. 510), which contains documents mainly from the later years of the empire. The latest addition to the Saint Helena literature is *Après la Mort de l'Empereur* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1913, pp. 323) by A. Cahuet, which is a collection of articles on divers topics of some interest and value.

French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century: a Historical Introduction, by Albert Léon Guérard (Fisher Unwin), is a solidly written work by an author who is French by birth, but whose English and American training has given him a wide view.

The Journal of a British Chaplain in Paris during the Peace Negotiations of 1801-1802, edited by A. M. Broadley (Chapman and Hall), makes public for the first time a diary kept by the Rev. Dawson Warren, who was with his brother-in-law, Francis Jackson, the British minister plenipotentiary in Paris in 1801. The volume also contains portions of the diaries of the younger brother of the minister, George Jackson, which were first published in 1872.

The son of Napoleon III. has found an excellent biographer in M. Augustin Filon, who has added to his intimate knowledge of the prince the use of his correspondence. The resulting translated volume, *The Prince Imperial, 1856-1879*, is published by Little, Brown, and Company.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Flach, *Le Comté de Flandre et ses Rapports avec la Couronne de France du IX^e au XV^e Siècle*, I. (Revue Historique, January); J. Gaillard, *Essai sur Quelques Pamphlets Ligueurs* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October, January); F. K. Mann, *Die Vorgeschichte des Finanzsystems von John Law* (Schmoller's Jahrbuch, XXXVII. 3); Ph. Sagnac, *L'Enseignement Secondaire avant et pendant la Révolution, d'après des Travaux Récents* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, November); A. Mathiez, *L'Histoire Secrète du Comité de Salut Public* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); Marquis Calmon-Maison, *Le Général Maison et le 1^{er} Corps de la Grande Armée* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 1); F. Funck-Brentano, *La Rentrée des Bourbons à Paris, 1814* (La Revue Hebdomadaire, January 3); M. Sabatier, *La Charte* (ibid., January 17); E. Driault, *Bazaine à Metz: État de la Question* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Several studies in the medieval history of Naples and Sicily have recently appeared. *L'Opera Politica e Militare di Ruggiero II. in Africa ed in Oriente* (Catania, Giannotta, 1913, pp. 87) is described by F. Cerone of the University of Naples; G. Dell'Aquila has discussed the *Linee Fondamentali della Politica Ecclesiastica di Carlo I. d'Angiò* (Camerino, Tonnarelli, 1913), and H. Rohde, *Der Kampf um Sizilien in den J. 1201-1302* (Berlin, Rothschild, 1913, pp. vii, 166). The relations of *Urban VI. und Neapel* (Berlin, Rothschild, 1913, pp. v, 166) are set forth by M. Rothbarth.

In his thesis, *Mittelalterliche Welt- und Lebensanschauung im Spiegel der Schriften Coluccio Salutati* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1913, pp. x, 166), Dr. Alfred von Martin discusses two main problems: the antithesis between world-unity and world-empire, and the possibilities and value of human knowledge. Dr. von Martin has also published an edition of Coluccio's *Traktat vom Tyrannen* (Berlin, Rothschild, 1913).

La Corte di Lodovico il Moro is described by F. Malaguzzi-Valeri in a richly illustrated quarto volume (Milan, Hoepli, 1913, pp. xvi, 766). Lodovico's clever and unscrupulous niece *Caterina Sforza* is the subject of a biography by P. D. Pasolini (Florence, Barbera, 1913).

A well illustrated folio volume commemorative of the bicentennial of Savoyard royalty has been published by F. Bertolini under the title *Il Settecento e il Primo Regno d'Italia* (Milan, Treves, 1913, pp. 368);

while M. Robatto has written a brief biographical sketch of *Vittorio Amedeo II. Primo Re Sabauda* (Turin, Bertinatti, 1913, pp. 85).

In the *Heroes of the Nations* series (Putnam) *Cavour and the Making of Modern Italy, 1810-1861*, by Pietro Orsi, has recently been issued.

An interesting glimpse of the private life and interests of Cavour is afforded by E. Visconti's publication of Cavour's letters to Giacinto Corio under the title *Cavour Agricoltore* (Florence, Barbera, 1913).

The second volume of the *Documentos correspondientes al Reinado de Sancho Ramirez, 1063-1094* (Saragosa, Carra, 1913), is the ninth volume of the *Coleccion de Documentos para el Estudio de la Historia de Aragón*.

On April 11-17 a Congress of Spanish-American History and Geography will hold sessions in Seville in commemoration of the fourth centenary of the discovery of the Pacific by Balboa. Besides the usual scientific sessions there will be excursions to the ruins of Italica, to Jerez, and to Cordova. Publication of at least a portion of the papers read is expected.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Palmarocchi, *Il Ministero dell'Interno e gli Archivi di Stato* (Rassegna Contemporanea, November 10); G. Falco, *Il Comune di Velletri nel Medio Evo. sec. XI.-XIV.*, I. (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXVI. 3); H. N. Gay, *Cavour e Cesare Balbo, con Lettere inedite di Cavour* (Nuova Antologia, January 16); A. Valle, *Bettino Ricasoli*, I. (Studi Storici, XXI. 3); R. R. Hill, *The Office of Adelantado* (Political Science Quarterly, December); F. Rousseau, *Charlotte Joaquine de Bourbon, Reine de Portugal, 1775-1830* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General reviews: E. Rosenstock [reviews of recent publications on the College of Electors] (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abt., XXXIV.); A. Stern, *Histoire d'Allemagne, Publications relatives à la Réforme* (Revue Historique, January); A. Guillard, *Les Études Historiques en Suisse* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, June); A. von Janson, *Die Neue Literatur zur Militärischen Geschichte der Befreiungskriege* (Die Geisteswissenschaften, October 22).

All known ancient inscriptions, printed or unpublished, relating to the German Rhineland have been collected by A. Riese in *Das Rheinische Germanien in den Antiken Inschriften* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1914, pp. xiii, 479). The volume is a companion to the editor's *Das Rheinische Germanien in der Antiken Literatur*, published in 1892. Franz Cramer has published a volume of *Römisch-Germanische Studien* (Leipzig, Hirt, 1914).

The progress of several important publications of medieval German official documents may be noted. R. Knipping has brought the *Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter* (Bonn, Hanstein) to 1304; F. Vigener, the *Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Mainz* (Leipzig, Veit) to 1396; Count L. von Oberndorff, the *Regesten der Pfalzgrafen am Rhein* (Innsbruck, Wagner) to 1508; and A. Krieger, the *Regesten der Markgrafen von Baden und Hachberg* (*ibid.*) to 1515.

Students of the period of the Reformation will find F. Israël's description of *Das Wittenberger Universitätsarchiv* (Halle, Gebauer-Schwetschke, 1913, pp. 160) a useful aid.

Important publications of materials for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are now in process of issue. Thus, the latest volume of the *Hanseresesse* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1913), edited by D. Schäfer and F. Techen, carries the work forward from 1477 to 1530. The *Reichsregistraturbücher Kaiser Karls V.* (Vienna, Gerlach and Wiedling) are being published under the auspices of the Austrian archives, with the co-operation of a considerable group of editors. The first volume, for 1519-1522, was issued at the time of the meeting of German historians in Vienna last autumn. Before his death in April, 1913, Herman Hallwich succeeded in editing four volumes of *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte Wallensteins, 1630-1634*, for the *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum* (Vienna, Hölder). Unfortunately these volumes contain but a small portion of the mass of unedited material on Wallenstein which he had collected. The first volume of the *Nuntiaturberichte vom Kaiserhofe Leopolds I.* (Vienna, Hölder), edited by Levinson, covers the years 1657-1669.

No small amount of historical interest attaches to the subject of the book-trade in Germany in the nineteenth century, and so J. Goldfriedrich's *Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels, 1805-1889* (Leipzig, Verlag des Börsenvereins, 1913) will be welcomed.

Professor J. von Pflugk-Harttung has followed *Das Befreiungsjahr, 1813* (see p. 199, above) by *Leipzig, 1813* (Gotha, Perthes, 1913, pp. xvii, 452). Though appearing from different presses, the two volumes belong together, and are chiefly made up of extremely valuable documents drawn from the archives of the German General Staff, of the English Foreign Office, and other sources. The despatches of the important Prussian commanders and officers, and General Stewart's reports to the English government are the most worthy of note.

The centenary of the war of liberation has produced a notable group of biographical publications. The new edition of *Die Briefe Friedrich Ludwig Jahns* (Leipzig, Eberhardt, 1913, pp. 583), by W. Meyer, replaces all earlier compilations. A new edition of Droysen's *York von Wartenburg* (Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1913) and a life of *Gneisenau* (Berlin, Mittler, 1913) by W. von Unger have been brought out. Dr.

Ernst Müsebeck, who has published many monographs on Arndt, has issued the first volume of an exhaustive biography, *Ernst Moritz Arndt, ein Lebensbild* (Gotha, Perthes, 1914, pp. xii, 591). F. Meusel has produced two volumes of materials relating to *Friedrich August Ludwig von der Marwitz* (Berlin, Mittler, 1913), and H. von Petersdorff, a two-volume life of Friedrich von Motz (Berlin, Hobbing, 1913, pp. xviii, 255, x, 423). The latter author has also published a volume of briefer essays on several *Deutsche Männer und Frauen* (Berlin, Hobbing) of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For a somewhat later period Karl Wild's *Karl Theodor Welcker* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1913, pp. xviii, 454) is important.

Die Politische Haltung Ludwig von Gerlachs unter Bismarck's Ministerium, 1862-1877 (Berlin, Hobbing, 1913) has been described by Dr. Hesse, and R. Augst has written of *Bismarck und Leopold von Gerlach, ihre persönlichen Beziehungen und deren Zusammenhang mit ihren Politischen Anschauungen* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1913, pp. viii, 108), and Leonie von Keyserling, *Studien zu den Entwicklungsjahren der Brüder Gerlach* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1913, pp. iv, 164). There is an essay by Geisberg on *Bismarck und das Kriegsvölkerrecht* (Leipzig, Gräfe, 1913) and a longer account by G. Ritter of *Die Preussischen Konservativen und Bismarcks Deutsche Politik, 1858-1871* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1913). Most important of all is *Fürst Bismarck, 1890-1898, nach Persönlichen Mitteilungen des Fürsten und eigenen Aufzeichnungen des Verfassers, nebst einer authentischen Ausgabe aller vom Fürsten Bismarck herrührenden Artikel in den "Hamburger Nachrichten"* (Stuttgart, Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, pp. xx, 411, 429), by Hermann Hofmann, who was editor of the *Nachrichten* at the time.

The Royal Saxon Historical Commission expects the present year to see the completion in manuscript of the *Geschichte des Heilbronner Bundes*, ed. Kretzschmar, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen Augusts des Starken*, ed. Haake, and *Bibliographie der Sächsischen Geschichte*, ed. Bemann.

Paul Simson has begun the publication of a *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig* (Danzig, Kafemann) in four volumes. The first volume deals with the period prior to 1517, and the fourth volume will be made up of documents.

The Commission for the Modern History of Austria has sent to the press its *Chronologische Verzeichnis der Oesterreichischen Staatsverträge*, edited by Professor Bittner.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Niese, *Zum Prozess Heinrichs des Löwen* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abt., XXXIV.); H. Bächtold, *Ueber den Plan einer Edition der Deutschen Zolltarife des Mittelalters* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-

und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XI. 4); H. Barge, *Zur Genesis der frühreformatorischen Vorgänge in Wittenberg* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XVII. 1); L. Cristiani, *Luther au Couvent, 1505-1517*, II. (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); M. Laubert, *Metternich und die Kritik der deutschen Presse an Revolution in Krakau und Galizien, 1846* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XVII. 1); L. Bergsträsser, *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Berliner Märztage*. (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XVII. 1); F. Schiller, *Die Oesterreichischen Hausgesetze und das Ungarische Staatsrecht* (Ungarische Rundschau, January); H. Oncken, *Marx und Engels* (Preussische Jahrbücher, February); R. Michels, *August Bebel* (Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, XXXVII. 3); H. Oncken, *Germany under William II., 1888-1913* (Quarterly Review, October); P. Kehr, *Das Preussische Historische Institut in Rom* (Internationale Monatsschrift, November); D. Schäfer, *Das Preussische Historische Institut in Rom und die Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft* (ibid., January); E. von Wertheimer, *Zur Geschichte der Ungarischen Altkonservativen* (Ungarische Rundschau, October, January); Fritz Vischer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der [Napoleonischen] Mediation* (Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte, XII. 1, 2).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Dr. H. F. M. Huijbers has published the first part of a thesis on *Don Juan van Oostenrijk, Landvoogd der Nederlanden* (Utrecht, Oosthoek, 1913, pp. xxiv, 304), which only carries the narrative through the year 1576. The appendix of more than fifty pages is made up of unpublished documents for that year.

The Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire intends to publish the correspondence, 1788-1797, of Henri van der Noot, leader in the rebellion of Brabant against Joseph II. and in the events of Belgian history which followed in the next few years, the correspondence, valuable for international as well as domestic history, to be edited by Professor Eugène Hubert and Dr. Hanns Schlitter of the Vienna archives. It will also publish the correspondence of Alexander Farnese relative to the Spanish Netherlands, 1578-1592, chiefly from the archives of Naples and Parma, edited by Professor Alfred Cauchie and Dr. L. Van der Essen. A calendar of a part of Alexander's correspondence, preserved in the Mediceo-Laurentian Library at Florence, is printed in the commission's *Bulletin*, LXXXII., no. 3.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

F. Gribble has told anew the story of *The Court of Christina of Sweden and the Later Adventures of the Queen in Exile* (London, Nash, 1913).

The publication of the *Bernstorffske Papirer, 1732-1835*, by Aage Friis (see this journal, XV. 594), has reached the third volume (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1913):

The third and final volume of V. O. Klutchevsky's *History of Russia*, translated by C. J. Hogarth, has recently appeared, bringing the history to the close of the seventeenth century.

A collection of articles relating to the "time of troubles", 1612, *Smutnoye Vremya* (Moscow, 1913), has been edited by V. N. Bochkarev, Y. V. Gautier, and V. I. Picheta and published by the Moscow Society for the Advancement of Technical Knowledge.

The Confidential Correspondence of the British Government respecting the Insurrection in Poland, 1863 (Paris, Le Soudier, 1913, pp. xxxv, 455) has been edited by T. Filipowicz.

Russland: eine Einführung auf Grund seiner Geschichte von 1904 bis 1912 (Berlin, Reimer, 1913, pp. xviii, 550) is the work of Otto Hoetzsch, professor of history in the University of Posen. The first four chapters give an historical survey of the period, while the remaining chapters give a topical description and discussion of the conditions and problems.

Count de Landemont has furnished a timely survey of recent Bulgarian history in *L'Élan d'un Peuple: la Bulgarie jusqu'au Traité de Londres, 1861-1913* (Paris, Plon, 1914).

Griechenlands Anteil an den Balkankriegen, 1912-1913, by Dr. K. Nikolaïdes (Vienna, Hölder, 1914, pp. viii, 432), is a popular, illustrated account of the two wars written with a strong patriotic motive. About equal attention is given to the two wars. The volume is useful not merely for the presentation of the Greek side, but also for the materials compiled.

The Servian side of the Balkan wars is narrated from official Servian sources by A. Kutschbach in *Die Serben im Balkankrieg, 1912-1913, und im Kriege gegen die Bulgaren* (Stuttgart, Franck, 1913). Other recent issues on the Balkan wars are Captain de Ripert d'Alauzier's *Sur les Pas des Alliés, Andrinople, Thrace, Macédoine* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1914, pp. viii, 333), and a German translation of Zoli's *Der Balkankrieg* by A. Sommerfeld (Berlin, Verlag Continent, 1913).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Afanasyev, *Boris Godunov and the First Pretender* (Russian Review, November); S. Goriainov, *Le Sphinx Dévoilé: une Nouvelle Étude sur Alexandre Ier* (Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, July, October); B. Pares, *The Peterhof Conference on the Draft Project of the Imperial Duma, August 1-5, 1905* (Russian Review, November); N. Oganowsky, *Die Agrarfrage in Russland seit 1905* (Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, XXXVII. 3); R. Kann, *Missions Militaires en Turquie* (Revue de Paris, January 15).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

Captain Bertin of the French General Staff has made a thorough study of the campaign of *Liao-Yang* (Paris, Imhaus, 1914, pp. vi, 788). Another recent volume is an *Essai sur la Guerre Russo-Japonaise* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1913), by de Saligny.

Messrs. Putnam will publish soon Dr. Lionel D. Barnett's *Antiquities of India*, a volume intended to bring into a general survey the history and culture of ancient India.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Dodwell, *British India before Plassey* (*Quarterly Review*, October).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington will have for a period of six months, beginning in November, the aid of Rear-Admiral Alfred T. Mahan as a Research Associate of the Carnegie Institution, resident in Washington. Professor Frank A. Golder of the Washington State College has begun in Russia a period of service to the Institution in the making of a *Guide* to the materials for American history to be found in the archives of St. Petersburg and Moscow. It is expected that Professor William I. Hull of Swarthmore College will at a later period in the year perform a similar service in the archives of the Netherlands. The Department is now distributing to subscribers the series of photographs of documents relating to American history made by Mr. R. R. Hill in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. The annual report of the director of the Department, just distributed, contains a survey of its ten years' history and a list of the classes of data which it has on hand for purposes of consultation by historical investigators.

The *Report* of the Librarian of Congress for 1913 describes a large number of valuable accessions of manuscript historical material received during the year. Though some of them have already been mentioned in these pages, we enumerate here the chief items: the papers of James Murray Mason, Confederate envoy, and certain papers of George Mason; the archives of the American Colonization Society; the letter-book kept by William H. Crawford in Paris, 1813-1815, and photographic copies of letters then received by him; part of the papers of John Wilson Croker, secretary to the British Admiralty; 28 log-books and journals of Admiral Sir George Cockburn; the papers of Secretary Hugh McCulloch; those of Nicholas Biddle; three letter-books kept by William Wirt when attorney-general and candidate for the presidency; certain papers of Gideon and Francis Granger; a diary of proceedings in the Senate, October, 1803-March, 1804, kept by William Plumer; one kept

in the Continental Congress by John Fell for one year from the end of November, 1778; a few record-books of district courts of the Confederacy; and, on deposit, the manuscripts possessed by the Naval History Society, including the Ericsson papers.

The Library of Congress has issued *A List of American Doctoral Dissertations printed in 1912* (pp. 106), prepared by Charles A. Flagg. The dissertations are arranged in two sections, the one alphabetically by authors, the other in a classified order of subjects. A list, by institutions, of the doctors whose theses were printed in 1912 is appended, and there is also a subject index. It is the purpose of the library to publish a list of all theses printed prior to 1912 as soon as the necessary data are in hand. The library has also issued a bibliography of its own *Publications since 1897* (pp. 46), and a second edition of its *Classification: Class E-F, America* (pp. 298), containing the library's classification of American history to March 1, 1913.

Dr. W. Hasbach's volume, *Die Moderne Demokratie* (Jena, Fischer, 1912, pp. ix, 620), which was largely devoted to a study of American politics, has been followed by a work specifically on that subject, by R. Coester, entitled *Verwaltung und Demokratie in den Staaten von Nordamerika* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1913).

Professor James A. James of Northwestern University has brought out through Scribner a volume of *Readings in American History*.

The Lives of the Presidents of the United States, a collection, in four volumes, of brief biographies of the presidents, from Washington to Wilson, from the pens of such writers as Bancroft, Fiske, Schurz, and Hay, has been published by Scribner.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its twenty-second annual meeting in Philadelphia on February 22 and 23. Following are some of the more important papers read at the sessions: Unequal Religious Rights in Maryland since 1776, by B. H. Hartogensis; some documentary materials pertaining to Jewish history in the eighteenth century, presented by Samuel Oppenheim; Documents relating to the History of the Jews in Jamaica and Barbados in the Time of William III., by Frank Cundall, F.S.A., of Kingston, Jamaica, and N. Darnell Davis, C.M.G., of London; Extracts from a Diary of the first four Months of 1865, by Hon. Simon Wolf; the Economic Interpretation of American Jewish History, by Albert M. Friedenberg; the Jews in the War of 1812, by Leon Hühner; the Jewish Courts of Medieval Spain, by Rabbi Abraham A. Neuman; Two Great American Pioneers: Manuel Lisa and Joseph Simon, by W. V. Biars; and Motives for founding a University in London, 1647, by Rev. Professor Hermann Gollancz of London.

Rev. H. T. Henry contributes to the December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* an elaborate discussion of the origin of the air of the "Star-Spangled Banner".

Houghton Mifflin Company announce for early publication what should prove to be a valuable contribution to the history of American education, by Dr. James M. Taylor, who recently retired from the presidency of Vassar College. The volume will bear the title *Before Vassar Opened: the Beginnings of the Education of Women in America*.

The November number of *Americana* contains a paper entitled "The United States of America in the Light of Prophecy as well as of History", stated to have been delivered by James R. Doolittle, United States senator from Wisconsin, 1857-1869. The chapters of Brigham H. Roberts's History of the Mormon Church given in this issue relate to the arrival of Governor Cumming, the appointment of the peace commission, and the subsequent peace conference (1858).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The tenth supplement of the *Revue des Bibliothèques* contains a detailed description of *La Bibliothèque Française de Fernand Colomb* (Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. xliii, 341) by Jean Babelon.

The British government has issued *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies, Dec. 1, 1702-[Dec. 31,] 1703*, ed. Cecil Headlam.

Frederick William von Steuben and the American Revolution, etc., by J. B. Doyle, is published at Steubenville, Ohio, by the H. C. Cook Company.

The second volume of the *Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, edited by Dr. J. C. Ballagh and published under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America by the Macmillan Company, will be issued this spring.

Volume VIII., no. 1 (January-March), of the *Journal of American History* is a "Perry's Victory Centennial Number". Included in the miscellaneous array of materials pertaining to the battle of Lake Erie are a statement of Noah Brown, one of the builders of the Erie fleet, an extract from the log-book of the *Lawrence*, Perry's flag-ship, Commander Barclay's account of the battle, and the record of the court martial of that officer.

By error, it was stated on page 438 of our January issue that the constitution of the Confederate States had been reprinted as 63 Cong., 1 sess., Senate Document 181. In reality only a small part of this pamphlet is devoted to matter reprinted from the constitution of the Confederate States. The remainder is made up of quotations from Confederate tariff laws, and the title is misleading.

The July number of the *Magazine of History* contains some selections from the correspondence of James R. Doolittle, senator from Wisconsin,

1857-1869, contributed by Duane Mowry. The selections given are principally extracts from letters (1865, 1866) of Edward Bates, who was for a time attorney-general in the Cabinet of President Lincoln, and relate to the policy of reconstruction.

Gamaliel Bradford's biographical studies of a number of the more important Confederate leaders have been gathered together and issued in volume form by Houghton Mifflin Company under the title *Confederate Portraits*. The volume includes studies of Johnston, Stuart, Longstreet, Beauregard, Benjamin, Stephens, Toombs, and Semmes.

Houghton Mifflin Company have issued *Commodore George Hamilton Perkins, U. S. N.: his Life and Letters*, by Carroll Storrs Alden. Commodore Perkins served for a time with Admiral Farragut, was in command of the *Chickasaw* in the battle of Mobile Bay, and after the war held various important commands.

The Military Reminiscences of General William R. Boggs, C. S. A., edited, with introduction and notes, by William K. Boyd, is issued as vol. III. of the *John Lawson Monographs* of the Trinity College Historical Society. The writer of these reminiscences was a graduate of West Point, and at the outbreak of the war was superintending the manufacture of guns at Pittsburgh. In the Confederate service he was chiefly engaged, first, in erecting fortifications about Charleston, Pensacola, and Savannah, then served with General Kirby Smith in the Kentucky expedition, receiving the rank of brigadier general and becoming Kirby Smith's chief of staff, and afterwards held a subordinate command in the southwest. His criticisms of the conduct of military affairs are exceedingly frank, although of broad, constructive criticism there is little. The strongest impression one gets from the book is that almost everywhere was incompetency, vacillation, confusion. The reminiscences have their value for the added knowledge which they give of limited phases of the war, and this is doubtless all they were intended to do. •

Houghton Mifflin Company have published *The United States Federal Internal Tax History from 1861 to 1871*, by Harry Edwin Smith. The book includes a study of federal direct, income, and inheritance taxes in the Civil War period as well as of excise taxes.

The Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South, by E. W. Knight, appears among the *Contributions to Education* issued by the Teachers' College of Columbia University.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson: the Story of his Life, by Mary Thacher Higginson, comes from the press of Houghton Mifflin Company. The book includes portions of Colonel Higginson's correspondence.

Mr. William R. Thayer is preparing for the *American Statesmen* series a biography of John Hay.

Professor C. A. Beard has just brought out through Macmillan *Contemporary American History*, dealing with the period since 1877. The work is intended as a text-book.

A collection of the papers of the late William Garrott Brown will shortly be published by Houghton Mifflin Company, with the title *The New Politics and other Papers*. The volume includes writings from Mr. Brown's pen concerning the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson.

Jeff Davis, Governor and United States Senator: his Life and Speeches, with Personal Reminiscences, by L. S. Dunaway, with an introduction by Judge J. V. Bourland, is published at Little Rock, Arkansas (Democrat Printing and Lithographing Company).

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The National Association of State Supervisors of Public Records was organized at Boston on February 18, with the following officers: Henry E. Woods, president, George S. Godard, vice president, Thomas C. Quinn, recording secretary, Lewis Perrine, corresponding secretary, and Herbert O. Brigham, treasurer. The membership of the association is limited to two from each state.

In the October–November serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society large extracts are reprinted from Colonel Garnet Wolseley's *Blackwood* article of 1863, "A Month's Visit to the Confederate Headquarters". There is also an article by Professor Edward Channing on "Washington and Parties, 1789–1797". The December serial contains an extensive series of letters from the Duke and Duchess of Argyll to Charles Sumner, 1859 to 1866. Many of the letters are concerned largely with the *Trent* affair. There is also a group of letters to John Barrett, 1776–1789.

When the Colonial Society of Massachusetts published last year its *Collections*, vol. II., comprising the Massachusetts royal commissions, 1681–1774, five of the commissions had not been found. In the review of that volume in the October number of this journal (p. 157) it was pointed out that three of the five at least were known to be extant, and it is now learned that a fourth has been discovered. These four commissions will be printed as a part of the transactions of the December, 1913, meeting of the society.

Colonial Wars is the title of a new quarterly magazine (begun in December), published by the Society of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The first number (December) includes among its contents a summary of the military papers in volume LXVII. of the Massachusetts archives, an account of the Boston Regiment in Colonial Days, and some account of Samuel Waldo's Regiment in the 1746 expedition, including some of the company rolls.

Howard M. Chapin, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, has brought out a brief documentary conspectus of *The Seal, the Arms, and the Flag of Rhode Island*.

Historical Collections relating to the Town of Salisbury, Litchfield County, Connecticut, vol. I., has been brought out by the Salisbury Association. The volume includes vital records of Salisbury prior to 1770, and also a brief military history of the town, by M. D. Rudd.

Vital Records of Norwich, 1659-1848, is issued at Hartford by the Society of Colonial Wars.

History of Poor Relief Legislation in Pennsylvania, 1682-1913, by W. C. Heffner, is a doctoral dissertation of the University of Pennsylvania (Cleona, Pennsylvania, Holzapfel Publishing Company).

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania has established itself in the beautiful home which it has built for itself on Grant Boulevard, Pittsburgh.

The Maryland Historical Society has brought out *Archives of Maryland*, vol. XXXIII., comprising the proceedings and acts of the general assembly of Maryland from May, 1717, to April, 1720.

Dr. Bernard C. Steiner contributes to the December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* an article concerning Roger B. Taney's correspondence with Van Buren. The article consists chiefly of extensive excerpts from letters of Taney, 1834-1837, relating to political questions of the time. "An Historical Identification: John Wilkes Booth—What became of him?" is a presentation, by Mr. William M. Pegram, of certain facts within his own knowledge, together with the record of the payment of the reward for Booth's capture.

A History of the National Capital, from its Foundation to the Adoption of the Organic Act, is announced for early publication by Macmillan.

Among the many documents which appear in the January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* may be noted the following: a letter from the Board of Trade to the governor of Virginia, January 4, 1700, touching various matters brought to the attention of the board by the governor, and the declaration of Colonel Herbert Jefferys, April 27, 1677, on becoming governor and captain general of Virginia, together with other documents pertaining to the recall of Berkeley and to Jefferys' accession. The contributions of C. A. Flagg and W. O. Waters in this issue concerning Virginia's soldiers in the Revolution pertain to the state militia and to early volunteer companies and minute men. The Revolutionary army orders for the main army under Washington, 1778-1779, are concluded.

In the January number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* appears a group of interesting letters from the Rev. Thomas Hall to Dr. Benjamin Rush, his kinsman, written between 1783 and 1805, principally from Leghorn, Italy, where the writer had become chaplain to the British colony. Professor N. W. Stephenson of the College of Charleston continues his contribution of *Some Inner History of the Virginia Company*.

The January Bulletin of the Virginia State Library is a *List of Manuscripts recently deposited in the Virginia State Library by the State Auditor* compiled by Mr. Earl G. Swem and relating to thousands of documents mostly of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary periods, and valuable for the financial and economic history of the State.

An essay by J. Hoops on "Virginia zur Kolonialzeit" is to be found in *Studien zur Englischen Philologie, L. Morsbach gewidmet* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1913).

Bulletin no. 14 of the *Publications* of the North Carolina Historical Commission is *The North Carolina State Flag*, by W. R. Edmonds. Bulletin no. 15 is *Proceedings and Addresses of the Fourteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina*. The principal addresses are that by Walter A. Montgomery on the Relations between the Confederate States Government and the Government of North Carolina, and that by J. G. de Rouilhac Hamilton, on the North Carolina Convention of 1865-1866.

German American Annals, XI., nos. 5 and 6, has for main contents the text in German of Christoph von Graffenried's "Relation" of his American adventures, a later redaction of his French narrative printed in English in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, I. 905-985. The document is presented by Professor Albert B. Faust of Cornell University, who prefaces it with an account of the various Graffenried manuscripts at Yverdon and Bern.

Volume XIII., no. 1, of the *James Sprunt Historical Publications* includes a paper on the North Carolina Colonial Bar, by E. H. Alderman, and one on the Granville District, by E. M. Coulter.

Judge Henry A. M. Smith contributes to the October number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* an article on *Some Forgotten Towns in Lower South Carolina*.

The pamphlet of forty-four pages with three maps entitled *The Railroad the Conqueror*, by Mr. Theodore D. Jervy of Charleston, S. C., apparently published by the author, should not be put aside as the ordinary pamphlet. It is an important and valuable essay on the relations of railroad development in South Carolina, and especially of the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston railroad, to the industrial progress of the state, to the development of slave labor, and to the political careers

of Hayne and Calhoun. It is Mr. Jervey's belief that if the plan for a direct connection between Charleston and the West had not been checked by Calhoun in 1840 the Civil War need not have occurred.

The Department of Archives and History of Mississippi has issued *The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi* for 1912, edited by Dr. Dunbar Rowland. The historical, biographical, and statistical materials of previous issues have been brought down to date.

The article of chief importance in the January number of the *South-western Historical Quarterly* is an extended and carefully prepared paper on Texas and the Boundary Issue, 1822-1829, by William R. Manning. Pennsylvania and the Independence of Texas, by James E. Winston, makes record of the Pennsylvania volunteers for the Texan service, of the public meetings of Texan sympathizers in Philadelphia, and of the attitude of Philadelphia newspapers toward the rebellion. In this number of the *Quarterly* is also reprinted the larger part of the *Reminiscences of Texas* by W. Y. Allen, which appeared between 1876 and 1885 in the *Texas Presbyterian*.

The *Texas History Teachers' Bulletin* was inaugurated in November, 1912, and is published three times a year as a bulletin of the University of Texas. The numbers for November and February contain brief articles upon the use of parallel readings, note-books, and maps in the teaching of history in high schools.

It is now announced definitely that the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* will make its appearance on June 1, 1914, and quarterly thereafter. The publication of the quarterly has been made possible by a guarantee fund subscribed to by four institutions and six individuals. The contents will include articles on Western history, documents, reviews of books, and news. The subscription price is \$3.00 a year to persons not members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and \$2.00 to members of that society, under whose auspices the journal appears. The board of editors consists of Professors B. F. Shambaugh, F. L. Paxson, A. B. Hulbert, Walter L. Fleming, O. G. Libby, E. C. Barker, C. H. Van Tyne, J. A. James, and Professor Clarence W. Alvord as managing editor, who may be addressed at Urbana, Illinois, while correspondence in respect to subscriptions should be sent to Mr. Clarence S. Paine, Lincoln, Nebraska.

The January number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is occupied entirely with centennial articles. Papers concerning the centennial of Croghan's victory at Fort Stephenson, August 1 and 2, 1813, and the siege of Fort Meigs, the centennial of which was celebrated at Perrysburg, July 27, 1913, are by Lucy Elliot Keeler. Embodied in the first of these papers is an address by President S. D. Fess. The article on the centennial celebration of Perry's victory is by Professor G. F. Wright and includes addresses by former President Taft and Hon. James A. Macdonald of Toronto.

The Welsh of Columbus, Ohio: a Study in Adaptation and Assimilation, by Rev. D. Jenkins Williams (Oshkosh, Wisconsin, the author), is essentially a sociological study with an historical introduction. Chapters I. and II. treat of the cause of Welsh emigration and its coming to Ohio, and the last chapter (VI.) discusses the process of change, or "the vanishing Welsh".

The *Indiana Magazine of History* for December contains an interesting paper by Professor James A. Woodburn on Local Life and Color in the New Purchase, the "New Purchase" being that central portion of Indiana obtained by the treaty with the Indians in 1818. In the same issue are a paper on the Criminal Code of the Northwest Territory, by the late Judge David D. Banta; a sketch, by Nina Kathleen Reid, of John Tipton, United States senator from Indiana, 1832-1839; and an account of the Campaign of 1876 in Indiana, by O. B. Carmichael.

Among the papers read at the meeting of the history section of the Indiana State Teachers' Association in Indianapolis on February 13 and 14 were the following: Should Indiana have a new Constitution? by Professor T. F. Moran; Relation of Local History to general United States History, by Professor Harlow Lindley; Correlation of History with Vocational Training, by Mr. John A. Lapp; and papers relating to the Indiana centennial, by Mr. J. P. Dunn and Mr. D. C. Brown.

The commission appointed by the state of Illinois to supervise commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary (in 1918) of the admission of the state is planning, in conjunction with the Illinois State Historical Library, for the issue of a series of historical volumes of documentary material relating to Illinois in the period near the time of its admission.

The Illinois State Historical Library has received as a gift from Mr. Sidney Breese of Springfield a collection of letters and papers of the donor's grandfather, Sidney Breese, United States senator from Illinois, 1843-1849, and chief justice of the supreme court of Illinois, 1873-1874. The collection contains letters from Stephen A. Douglas, James Shields, Martin Van Buren, Lewis Cass, Simon Cameron, and many other men of prominence, and also other materials of historical value.

The pages of the October number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are principally occupied with a reprint of the *Journal* of the Illinois constitutional convention of 1818, with introduction and notes by Richard V. Carpenter. Of this journal, only one copy, given to the state in 1905 by Mr. J. W. Kitchell, is now known to exist. There is also a sketch of the career of Daniel P. Cook, member of Congress from Illinois, 1819-1827, by Josephine E. Burns.

Mr. Theodore C. Pease, formerly of the University of Chicago, has been appointed by the Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library

to the position of inspector of county archives, under an appropriation made by the last general assembly of the state for this purpose. It is proposed by the library board to present to the legislature at its next session a report on present conditions, together with certain recommendations looking to the improvement of local depositories of public records.

The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society includes in its January issue a paper on the Kentucky Regulars in the War of 1812, by A. C. Quisenberry, and some reminiscences of General W. H. Lytle, from the pen of the late Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston.

A History of Kentucky and Kentuckians: the Leaders and Representative Men in Commerce, Industry and Modern Activities, by E. P. Johnson, is put forth by the Lewis Publishing Company.

The Michigan Historical Commission's second bulletin is a series of *Suggestions for Local Historical Societies and Writers in Michigan*. Other bulletins now in preparation are a preliminary report on Michigan state and local archives, bibliographies of printed materials for the history of Michigan and the old Northwest, and a syllabus of Michigan history in schools. In place of the series called *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* (38 vols., to which a general index is being prepared), two publications will hereafter be issued: *Proceedings of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, for papers and contributions, and *Collections of the Michigan Historical Commission*, for calendars and texts of original materials. The first volume of *Collections* will be a calendar of the Askin papers.

Mr. Clarence M. Burton has offered his magnificent collection of books and manuscripts relating to the history of Detroit to the Library Commission of that city. The library is well known to many historical students through the generosity with which Mr. Burton has placed its treasures at their disposal. An account of it, at a much earlier stage of its development, was printed in this journal (I. 584-586). The library is reported to contain 30,000 bound volumes, 100,000 pamphlets, 500,000 pieces of manuscript, and 27,000 photographs of Detroit scenes, buildings, and characters. Mr. Burton has included in his munificent offer his home and the three fire-proof buildings which he has erected in which to house his library. The offer has been gratefully accepted.

The state of Minnesota will probably complete in 1916 a new building for the Minnesota Historical Society, the supreme court of the state, and the state law library.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for January includes an article on the Mormon Trails in Iowa, by Jacob Van der Zee, one on the Miller-Thompson Election Contest (1848-1850), by Louis B. Schmidt, and chapter VI. of Clifford Powell's *History of the Codes of Iowa Law*.

In the July–October issue of the *Annals of Iowa* is reprinted, from the Philadelphia edition of 1836, Lieutenant Albert M. Lea's *Notes on Wisconsin Territory*. In the same issue Charles J. Fulton writes of Jefferson County at the Beginning of the Civil War, Nathan E. Coffin gives an account of the case of Archie P. Webb, a free negro, with a full text of the judicial decision (1863), and Captain Michael Ackerman describes his experiences after the battle of Pleasant Hill, Louisiana.

Mr. H. A. Tresler presents in the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* the results of an investigation into the Value and the Sale of the Missouri Slave.

The Arkansas History Commission has issued, as *Bulletin of Information*, no. 5, an index to the collection known as the Kie Oldham papers.

The *Eighteenth Biennial Report* of the Kansas State Historical Society includes a report of the committee appointed to prepare a correct map of the Santa Fé trail across Kansas, and also a list of Kansas newspapers to October 1, 1913.

It is announced that Henry Holt and Company will publish a volume by F. S. Dellenbaugh entitled *Leaders to our Western Sea: a Story of the Growth of these United States from the Alleghenies to the Pacific*.

Messrs. Putnam expect to publish in the fall a volume entitled *The Winning of the Far West*, by Professor Robert M. McElroy, of Princeton University, designed as a continuation of Colonel Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*. Professor McElroy includes in the volume a history of the Texas revolution, the Mexican War, the Oregon question, and the extension of American dominion to the Pacific coast.

A biography of the famous Belgian Jesuit missionary to the Indians of the Rocky Mountain region, *Le P. De Smet, 1801–1873* (Liège, Des-sain, 1913, pp. xiii, 562), has been prepared by E. Laveille of the Society of Jesus.

The Early History of Idaho, by W. J. McConnell, "who was present and cognizant of the events narrated", has been published by authority of the legislature. The author was United States senator from Idaho from January to March, 1891, and governor of Idaho from 1892 to 1896.

Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah, by F. E. Esshom, is published in Salt Lake City by the Utah Pioneers Book Publishing Company.

Mr. Ralph E. Twitchell's *Spanish Archives of New Mexico* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, The Torch Press, 1914, pp. xxv, 525–683) is a calendar, often giving extracts or long summaries, of the documents of the Spanish and Mexican periods in the office of the surveyor-general at

Santa Fé (first volume) and of those transferred in 1903 from the offices of the territorial government to the Library of Congress (second volume); the latter are chronologically arranged. The work conveys a great amount of interesting documentary material.

The Washington Historical Quarterly completes in the January number the reprint of George Wilkes's *History of Oregon*, and includes an account, by C. B. Bagley, of Wilkes's writings. A paper of interest is a comparative study of American and British Treatment of the Indians in the Pacific Northwest, by W. J. Trimble.

The June, 1913, issue of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* is a memorial number to Harvey W. Scott (1838-1910), for many years editor of the *Portland Oregonian*. The September issue includes a letter written from Portland in 1849 by Daniel H. Lownsdale to Samuel R. Thurston, the delegate to Congress from the Territory of Oregon, setting forth at considerable length (33 pp.) one view of Oregon history; the journal of E. Willard Smith while with the fur traders, Vasquez and Sublette, in the Rocky Mountain region, 1839-1840; and the second half of the journal of John Work on the Snake Country expedition, 1830-1831.

The Indian History of the Modoc War, by Jeff. C. Riddle, is about to be published in San Francisco, by D. L. Moses. The author is the son of Wi-ne-ma, spoken of as the heroine of the war.

The Macmillan Company will publish this spring *The Establishment of State Government in California, 1846-1850*, by Cardinal Goodwin.

The Americans in the Philippines, in two volumes, by the late James A. LeRoy, with an introduction by Ex-President Taft (see p. 208, above), is to come presently from the press of Houghton Mifflin Company. The work aims to be an authoritative history of the first years of the American occupation of the islands, and includes many important documents.

Professor Dean C. Worcester's *The Philippines, Past and Present*, just published by Macmillan, in two volumes, is expected to be an informing, if not even a stirring, presentation of conditions in the Philippines and the problems confronting the United States in connection with their administration.

The *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, third series, vol. VI., includes the following papers of historical interest: La Baie Verte et le Lac Supérieur, by Benjamin Sulte; Extracts from Lord Selkirk's Diaries in Upper and Lower Canada in the Years 1803 and 1804, by Dr. George Bryce; a study of Disaffection in Upper Canada in 1812-1815, by Colonel E. A. Cruikshank; Edward Ermatinger's York Factory Express Journal, being a Record of Journeys made between Fort Vancouver and Hudson Bay in the Years 1827-1828, with introduction

by Judge C. O. Ermatinger and notes by him and James White; Fundamental Processes in Historical Science, part I., by Dr. Hervey M. Bowman; Colonel Alexander McNutt and the Pre-Loyalist Settlements of Nova Scotia, by Archdeacon Raymond; and the Settling of Colchester County, Nova Scotia, by New England Puritans and Ulster Scotsmen, by Rev. Dr. A. W. H. Eaton.

The Champlain Society expects soon to send to the printer the first volume of its edition of *Champlain's Voyages*, which in all will make five or six volumes. Knox's *Journals* with annotations by Dr. A. G. Doughty, and vol. III. of Lescarbot are between galley and page proof.

The second volume of the late Mr. F. X. Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*, edited by his grandson, Mr. Hector Garneau, is expected to appear in the autumn.

The Tercentenary History of Canada, from Champlain to Laurier, MDCVIII.-MCMVIII., revised to the present time by Britton B. Cooke, has appeared.

Messrs. Cassell of London will shortly publish *Recollections of Sixty Years* by Sir Charles Tupper, who was prime minister of Nova Scotia before the Confederation and minister many years in the Dominion government.

The Story of Manitoba, in three volumes, by F. H. Schofield, is put forth by the S. J. Clarke Publishing Company.

The most considerable articles in the September-December number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Havana) are a continuation of the "Copia fiel de la primera Pieza de la Causa principal seguida por la Conspiración titulada 'Gran Legión del Aguila Negra', que instruyó la Comisión Militar española en 1830", and "Memoria histórica, geográfica y política, agrícola e industrial de la Isla de Pinos desde su Descubrimiento hasta el Tiempo presente", etc.

Maximilian in Mexico: the Story of the French Intervention, 1861-1867, by Percy F. Martin, has been brought out by Scribner.

A valuable picture of Mexico in the years 1869-1871, from the family letters of an experienced and cultivated diplomat, is presented in a small book entitled *Mexikanische Briefe von Kurd von Schlözer* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Wätgen, *Der Negerhandel in Westindien und Südamerika bis zur Sklavenemanzipation* (Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1913, 2); E. A. Ross, *Origins of the American People* (Century Magazine, March); J. J. Jusserand, *Rochambeau en Amérique, d'après des Documents inédits*, I., *Avant Yorktown* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15); W. R. Manning, *Poinsett's Mission to Mexico: a*

Discussion of his Interference in Internal Affairs (American Journal of International Law, October); F. García Calderón, *The Monroe Doctrine and Latin America* (Atlantic Monthly, March); A. R. H. Ransom, *Reminiscences of the Civil War by a Confederate Staff Officer*, II. (Sewanee Review, January); Mrs. Eugene McLean, *A Northern Woman in the Confederacy* (Harper's Magazine, February); Maj.-Gen. George B. Davis, U. S. A., *The Stoneman Raid* (Journal of the U. S. Cavalry Association, January); Mrs. George E. Pickett, *The Wartime Story of General Pickett* (Cosmopolitan, January, February, March); Y. R. Le-Monnier, *General Beauregard at Shiloh, Sunday, April 6, '62* (Neale's Monthly, February); Count Ferdinand Zeppelin, *Erinnerungen aus dem Amerikanischen Kriegsjahre 1863* (Der Greif, January); C. O. Paullin, *A Half Century of Naval Administration, 1861-1911*, cont. (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, January-February).

ADDITIONAL LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN HISTORY IN PROGRESS¹

- C. E. Chapman, A.B. Tufts 1902; LL.B. Harvard 1905; A.M. California 1909. *The Anza Expedition to California, 1775-1776.*
- O. C. Coy, Ph.B. College of Pacific 1907; A.M. Stanford 1909. *The History of the Humboldt Region of California.*
- G. C. Davidson, A.B. Toronto 1906; A.M. California 1908. *The Westward Movement in Canada.*
- W. H. Ellison, A.B. Randolph-Macon 1904; A.M. California 1913. *The Indian Policy of the United States in California, 1847-1876.*
- Cardinal Goodwin, A.B. Brown 1905; A.M. 1910. *The Establishment of State Government in California, 1848-1850.* In press.
- C. B. Goodykoontz, A.B. Colorado 1912. *The Province of Louisiana under Spain.*
- C. W. Hackett, A.B. Texas 1909. *The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680.*
- O. G. Jones, B.S. Ohio Wesleyan 1912. *The Development of Self-Government in the Philippine Islands since the American Occupation.*
- K. C. Leebrick, B.S. California 1911, M.S. 1913. *The Conflict in the Pacific Ocean between the European States, 1713-1790.*
- T. M. Marshall, B.L. Michigan 1900. *The History of the Southwestern Boundary of Louisiana, 1819-1843.* In press.
- T. P. Martin, A.B. Stanford 1913. *The Relation of Thomas H. Benton to the Development of the West.*
- H. I. Priestley, A.B. Southern California 1900, A.M. 1907. *Joseph Galvez in New Spain.*
- W. L. Schurz, B.L. California 1911, M.L. 1912. *The Manila Galleon.*
- J. J. Van Nostrand, A.B. Chicago 1905; A.M. Stanford 1911. *The Administration of Roman Spain under Augustus.*
- Mary F. Williams, A.B. California 1913. *The San Francisco Vigilance Committee, 1851-1856.*

DISSERTATIONS PRINTED SINCE DECEMBER, 1912

- Leigh Alexander, *The Kings of Lydia.* (Princeton, 1913.)
- A. S. Anspacher, *Tiglath-Pileser II.* (New York, Columbia University Studies, 1912.)
- Erma E. Cole, *The Samos of Herodotus.* (New Haven. The Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor Company, 1912.)

¹ The students named are candidates at the University of California; and we are informed that Messrs. C. H. Cunningham and W. C. Westergaard, listed in our January number with other designations of place, are candidates at the University of California.

734 *Dissertations Printed Since December, 1912*

- D. E. Clark, *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa: a Study in American Politics*. (Iowa City, Ia., 1912.)
- W. C. Heffner, *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Pennsylvania, 1682-1913*. (Cleona, Pa. Holzapfel Publishing Company.)
- W. H. Kilpatrick, *The Dutch Schools of New Netherland and Colonial New York*. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912.)
- S. L. Mims, *Colbert's West Indian Policy*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1912.)
- D. E. Smith, *The Viceroy of New Spain in the Eighteenth Century*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1913.)
- W. C. Woodward, *The Rise and Early History of Political Parties in Oregon*. (Portland, Ore., J. H. Gill Company, 1913.)